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**SPANISH EXPLORATION IN THE NORTH PACIFIC
AND ITS EFFECT ON ALASKA PLACE NAMES**

A

THESIS

**Presented to the Faculty
Of the University of Alaska Fairbanks
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of**

MASTER OF ARTS

By

Albert Gregory Luna, B.A.

Fairbanks, Alaska

May 2000

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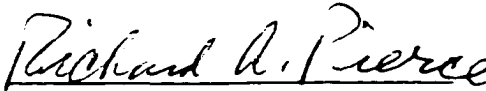
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Albert Gregory Luna

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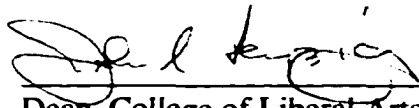

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ABSTRACT

Precipitated by the rapid advance of Russian fur hunters across the Aleutian Islands, the Spanish government awoke from its two hundred-year complacent slumber to define and defend its northern border. In all, seven expeditions crossed 54°40'N in the years between 1774 and 1792. Though not obvious today, these voyages left a vestigial mark on the state's toponymy along the Gulf of Alaska. From the town of Valdez to Bucareli Bay, these names are remains of a territorial rivalry in which the Spanish lost.

Refusal to publish its findings, lack of private entrepreneurs, and the inability of Spain to assess Alaska for its inherent value all guaranteed that the only thing Spanish in the state would be a scattering of place names. However, the visitation and subsequent maneuvering to possess Alaska among the Russians, British, and English in this crucial period is a neglected yet fascinating area of Alaskan history.

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Preface and Acknowledgments

Before my arrival to Fairbanks in the summer of 1997 I was completely unacquainted with Spanish activity in the Pacific Far North. As a child I would examine map upon map of different parts of the world, but never did the question of Spanish place names in Alaska enter my mind. With the *Valdez* oil tanker accident in 1989 I began to question why a town in Alaska would possess a Spanish name. I wondered, "Was it named after a gold miner with that last name?" Washington's Juan de Fuca Strait was Spanish, that much I knew, but surely, no Spanish explorers could have possibly reached the high latitudes.

Upon entering the University of Alaska I became aware of other Spanish-sounding place names, such as Malaspina Glacier, Cordova, Alaska, and Revillagigedo Island. There a professor suggested that I investigate this seeming mystery and possibly write my thesis on it. Due to my brief interest in the Russian Great Northern Expedition, I declined. However, after realizing that I was illiterate in Russian yet literate in Spanish, I changed my course to the south, namely to New Spain.

A children's book first introduced me to the adventures of Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, the pioneering explorer and brilliant mapmaker of the North Pacific Coast. I augmented my reading with secondary, and later primary sources. Luckily, the Rasmuson Library contained many of the explorers' journals and maps.

Midway through the Northern Studies program, I decided to alter my thesis. Not only would I chronicle the seven Alaskan expeditions, but I also would enumerate every

Spanish place name in the entire state. Not only might this prove useful to me, but to future scholars as well. During the winter of 1998-99 Donald Orth's *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names* became my pillow and place mat. This obscenely large book contains all Alaska place names, no matter the size. Page by page I perused the book looking for Spanish words. Then I stumbled upon the dilemma that not all Spanish place names in the state are linked directly to actual Spanish explorations. How could I account for locations in the Seward Peninsula? I therefore decided to separate all the Spanish names into three categories: 1) Place names given by Spanish explorers, 2) General Spanish Place Names, and 3) Obsolete Place Names. Certain general place names I omitted from my lists, namely El Dorado and Bonanza, due to their loose link to actual Spanish words and their frequency.

Spanish exploration and its legacy to Alaska is an important aspect of Alaskan history that is denied or overlooked. Various scholars in the world have expounded upon Spanish activity in the North Pacific, but more often than not, they concentrate on the Nootka Sound Controversy and relegate the Alaskan explorations to nothing more than a chapter at most. I have not encountered any book that deals solely with Spanish exploration above 54°40'N, and for this reason I have written this thesis. I hope that my list, although not perfect, will benefit future University of Alaska students in their inquiries of Spanish activity in the Far North.

I also have written this thesis to benefit Hispanic children who are either vaguely familiar with or completely unaware of Spanish activity in Alaska. With few Hispanic role models in America today, and those that do exist, not mentioned or neglected in the

classrooms, these children should take heart of the tenacity and perseverance of these Latin explorers over two-hundred years ago. All Alaskan children, regardless of race, should be aware, and in turn take pride, in the activities of colonial powers that vied for their state. My main objective is simply to acquaint people with a little known segment of Alaskan history.

Few people assisted me with my thesis, but the few who did, greatly affected me. I would like to thank Katherine Arndt for tolerating my ignorance concerning the thesis submittal process and for her gracious editing.

My boss and friend Professor Terrence Cole for his uncanny ability to cheer up all those around him and for his amazing ability to enlarge the scope of any given paper to a 500-page book.

I would like to thank Alexandra Fitts for editing my Spanish translations and for forcing me to master eighteenth century Spain; Marvin Falk, whose two hour conversations concerning erroneous maps and unscrupulous map sellers always cheered me up, and Richard Pierce, for his constancy and graciousness.

I am greatly indebted to my best friend, my confidante, my everything, Bertha Rodarte, for her amazing tolerance, her indefatigable optimism, and for her unyielding faith in my abilities.

Finally, my parents, Mario and Guadalupe, for their selfless sacrifices, to Cesar Lozano and Vanessa Luna, for their unflinching loyalty and generosity and to my

extended family for helping me remember that one should always take pride in one's culture and history.

Introduction

These justifiable considerations deprived us in part of the glory of following the route projected of going up to 70°N or 80°N where the Glacial Sea [Arctic Ocean] and the South Sea [Pacific Ocean] unite by the Bering Strait, and carry out the same exploration as the immortal Cook. This created the greatest desire of our commander and the officers of both corvettes to find ourselves in such a favorable position... The Glacial Sea [is] constantly frozen, although various nations have entered it. Spain does not take second place to any nation in heroism as it has always shown during all the centuries.

(Thomas Suria, in Yakutat Bay, 1791)¹

As shown in Donald Orth's *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names*², Alaska's mountains, rivers, valleys, and coast display names of many origins though three sources dominate all others. *Bristol Bay*, *Turnagain Arm*, *Prince William Sound*, *Fairbanks*, *Anchorage*, and *Prince of Wales Island* are English derivatives; the *Shumagin*, *Andreanof*, and *Pribilof Islands* as well as *Shishmaref*, *Golovin*, and *Kupreanof* are Russian ones. *Tanana*, *Yukon*, *Nenana*, and *Alaska* are of course native origin. In most cases, people either directly named them, named them in honor of someone else, or corrupted the original place name. Regardless of their true source, these toponyms are not limited to one specific area, but stretch across the entire state (e.g. Russian: *Shishmaref* to *Chichagof Island*; English: *Icy Cape* to *Baker Island*; Native: *Adak* to *Metlakatla*.).

¹Donald Cutter, *Malaspina & Galiano: Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast: 1791 & 1792* (Vancouver, BC: Douglas & MacIntyre, 1991), p. 66. Suria accompanied Malaspina on this segment of the voyage. They ventured to Yakutat Bay to investigate the fabled Maldonado Strait.

²Donald Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names* (Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1967)

Spanish and French place names exist in a separate category.³ Perhaps not as well known, scores of locations throughout the state feature Spanish place names, primarily in the Prince William Sound and Prince of Wales areas. Although this number is inappreciable compared to Native, Russian, and English toponyms, it is still quite impressive considering the closest Spanish speaking nation is eighteen hundred miles away.⁴ The familiarity of many of these place names calls for a thorough examination of their origin. Thus, the towns of Cordova and Valdez, Malaspina Glacier, and Revillagigedo Island offer a glimpse into a relatively unknown chapter of Alaskan history.

The fact that such names appear on an Alaskan map today illustrates the sheer determination and tenacity of the Spanish government in the eighteenth century. At a time when ownership and even contour of this area was still in question, the Spanish spurred into action dispatching tens of expeditions to California and beyond. The Bourbon rulers initiated these voyages to first ascertain, then thwart both Russian and English penetration

³La Perouse's *Lituya Bay* is a Tlingit word used by the Russians. It is not of French origin. La Perouse's expedition to the North Pacific contributed little to both the uncovering of the Pacific North Coast and Alaska place names.

⁴Although the reader might contend that the nation of Great Britain is over 3,500 nautical air miles away, yet they still retained much of their toponyms, the author asserts that English speaking names remained for one reason. It is indisputable that the British explorers of the late eighteenth century exhibited excellent mapmaking and nautical skills. Great Britain was the predominant naval power of Europe at the time and in keeping with such an honor, the names in which they bestowed on a given area were more likely to be retained due to that status. The French, in their maps, adopted most of the Spanish place names, whereas the British, as expected, adhered to theirs. Concomitant with its role as the world's naval power, its merchant vessels traversed the oceans using the British charts, thus relegating to oblivion Spanish place names.

into an area the Iberians⁵ viewed as the elastic northern border of California. The Russian “island hopping” of the mid-eighteenth century in the Aleutian Islands, in some respects, served as a boon to the Spanish. After a century of stagnation and corruption in colonial management weakened Spain’s colonial flanks, the news of this Russian incursion woke Spain from its slumber. Faced with possible invasion of its territories, the new Bourbon rulers sent *visitadores* to rid this lethargy and to reorganize the management and defense of its colonies.

News of Vitus Bering’s 1741 voyage to Alaska elicited a quick response from Spain to solidify its centuries-long claim to the still unknown Pacific Northwest. Paramount was the defense and colonization of California, and its key harbors, Monterey and San Diego. Though both of these harbors had been discovered in the early 1600’s by Spanish explorers, neither had been colonized by the time of Bering’s arrival to America. Moreover, by the turn of the century, rumors still swirled over California’s insularity. In response, the Spanish monarchs dispatched overland expeditions to both ascertain California’s true dimensions and to colonize its key sites. To accompany colonization, Franciscan friars constructed an elaborate network of missions along the California coast to facilitate colonization and conversion, as well as generate trade with the natives.

As a result, Spanish explorers delimited much of the Pacific Northwest littoral. In

⁵The author will freely interchange the words *Spanish* and *Iberian* for the sake of convenience.

total, the governments of Carlos III (1759-1788) and his son, Carlos IV (1788-1808), sent seven expeditions which pierced the 54°40'N boundary, and others which surveyed the coast south to Cape Blanco (southern Oregon) at 43°N. At a time when the coastline was amorphous, much of the unveiling of the Pacific Northwest, including the Juan de Fuca Strait and Vancouver Island, may be ascribed to these Spanish expeditions. A vestigial result of these discoveries is a high concentration of Spanish place names in the present-day states of Oregon and Washington and the Canadian province of British Columbia.

The impermanence of these place names on the map of Alaska may be summed up in two words: secrecy and rivalry. Although Russian movement ostensibly stimulated the resurgence of Spanish explorations of their undefined northern border, the true impetus remained Spain's colonial rivalry with Great Britain. In terms of competition for the Northwest Coast, Captain James Cook's third voyage to the Pacific in 1778 best manifested this hostile relationship. By this time, Spain already manned two expeditions to Alaska and thus claimed all land up to 59°N, present-day Alaskan Panhandle. If not for clandestine publication of the pilot's journal, news of these voyages would have eluded all of Europe.⁶

Madrid shrouded these voyages in secrecy to guarantee their tenuous domination of the Pacific Ocean. Long a "Spanish Lake" the said ocean became host to an

⁶Warren Cook, *Flood Tide of Empire* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973), p. 85.

increasingly large amount of foreign visitors. Cape Horn, though treacherous, served as the only entrance by water in the Western Hemisphere, despite attempts by all maritime powers to discover another one, namely the Northwest Passage. It behooved Spain to search for the passage, discern it, and pray that no other power would stumble upon it. Spain's fear of exposing this passage served as the primary deterrent as to why it did not publicly boast of its activity on the coast. Madrid knew that such a passage would seriously undermine its ability to repel any and all aggressors using the said passage.

In short, this thesis demonstrates how Spain's belated reactions to foreign penetration into the area doomed her claims to the far North Pacific. Despite Russian advances up the Alaskan peninsula, by 1779 Spain's claim to Alaska held on just as a legitimate ground as the Russians, if not more. So the question must be risen, "Why is not Alaska a former Spanish domain?" The Iberians inability to assess the area for its inherent value and generate private entrepreneurs to reap the fur trade profits guaranteed Russian prevalence. Moreover, Spain's incapacity to detain the "intruder" Cook proved to be most costly, for it engendered a veritable deluge of foreign vessels into Spain's back door.

This research is an inquiry into Spanish place names in Alaska as influenced by this race to uncover the Northwest Passage and the aforementioned interaction between Russia, Spain, and Great Britain. The discovery of Alaska will be seen through the eyes of the Spanish, as they ascended the coast from their stronghold in Mexico. It is a chronicle of Spanish activity up the coast culminating in the taking of possession of Alaska. Russian

and British advances in the uncovering of Alaska will be mentioned, though this work largely focuses on Spanish exploits. By such an exposition, the culminating events may be better understood.

Regardless of the outcome, the charting done by the seven Spanish expeditions to Alaska was quite extensive. They surveyed the entire Gulf of Alaska shoreline from Dixon Entrance to Unalaska. In total, four separate sightings of Prince William Sound, three of the Kenai Peninsula, and two of Kodiak Island headlined Spanish accomplishments. In all these regions, they named every landmark. However, due to later Anglo supremacy, these names slipped into obscurity. The few well-known names that have weathered history today may be singularly ascribed to one explorer, ironically, an Englishman. Had it not been for this man, Spanish toponyms originating from this period of discovery would remain obscure and contained in one tiny area.

This thesis deals only with Spanish toponyms given by actual eighteenth century Spanish and British explorers. Equally important, the author enumerates obsolete Spanish place names, names that no longer appear on present-day maps. To assist the reader, this work provides three appendices of Spanish place names past and present regardless of era. In addition, all place names given by Spanish explorers will be *italicized* in their original Spanish name; all that still exist today will be *underlined and italicized*.⁷ For the sake of

⁷Please take note that although the place names mentioned in the text are in Spanish, in most cases

brevity only Spanish place names north of 54° 40' will be mentioned, although activity south of the demarcation will be briefly discussed.

these place names have been Anglicized. For example, *La Bahia de Bucareli*, as mentioned in the text, today is called ***Bucareli Bay***. The same may be said of *Puerto de Gravina* (Port Gravina) and others.

Chapter I

Collision in the Americas

The Opponents

During the mid-eighteenth century only three nations had the requisite tenacity, manpower, and enterprise to make their way to the North Pacific: Great Britain, Spain, and Russia. The discovery of present-day Alaska required: 1) a government or commercial enterprise interested in exploration for territorial expansion or trade; 2) a navy with ocean-going vessels and trained personnel; 3) reliable maps, and 4) the scientific knowledge to undertake a mapping expedition by sea without landbased support.⁸ Great Britain possessed all four of the aforementioned; Spain and Russia to a lesser extent.

These three powers from various backgrounds vied for control of the North Pacific. Spain, the ossified grandfather of the group, had already found it difficult to maintain effective supply and communication lines with the Old World. These same routes from the viceregal capital of Mexico City to Baja California were already an exercise in frustration. Although the Spanish Bourbon rulers resuscitated Spain, it still reeled from the debacle of the destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Carlos III had an even larger empire than that of Felipe II, but its conquest, and more important its maintenance, was more defensive and tenuous than in the sixteenth century. Whereas

⁸Jim and Nancy Lethcoe, *A History of Prince William Sound, Alaska* (Valdez, Alaska: Prince

Spain during the foregoing century was dynamic and brash in its conquests, the Spain of the eighteenth century was weary, suspicious, cautious, and most profoundly important, isolationist. It did not participate in the exchange of scientific ideas or maps with the rest of Europe. Secrecy and preservation of the empire were paramount.

Great Britain, conversely, was the dominant naval power of the eighteenth century. With its groundwork laid by Elizabeth I, the English navy stood superior to all others in the world. In truth it began its ascendancy by preying upon Spanish galleons and conducting countless depredations in Spanish dominions. With the Industrial Revolution Great Britain entered an era of rapid commercial expansion and with that, an increasing need to prowl the earth for more resources to feed its inchoate industries.

Finally, virile Russia truly entered the international scene during the reign of Peter the Great. Peter acquired a "Window to the West," and developed and modernized an ocean-going navy manned by a cadre of trained personnel. As a result of his Great Northern War with Sweden, Peter sought new, unclaimed lands as a source of fur and minerals to replenish his treasury. He also finally wanted to put to rest any notion of a connected Asian and American landmass.

The crucial difference amongst these three rivals in the North Pacific was that while Great Britain and Russia were offensive in their quest for lands and wealth, Spain

William Sound, 1994), p. 5.

was not. While the former published their findings on most occasions to ostensibly disseminate information for the greater good of science, Spain did not. While the others were proactive and dynamic, Spain was proverbially “on the scene too late.” Its actions always stemmed from reactions to world events, either *promyshleniki* or British naval incursions. In short, it never initiated; it only responded.. This in short proved to be its demise.

Background to Spanish Activity

To have a better understanding of the objectives of Spanish exploration in the latter half of the eighteenth century, it is essential to grasp the history of the Spanish in the Pacific and Americas. Through the dynastic alliance of the *Catholic Monarchs* and the Habsburgs by the marriage of Juana “La Loca” and Philip I --coupled with the discoveries of America and the Spice route by Christopher Columbus in 1492, and Vasco Nuñez de Gama in 1497, respectively--Spain was poised on the verge of greatness. The accession of Charles I (Charles V in Germany) to the Spanish throne in 1517 and the seizure of Mexico in 1519 by Hernan Cortes and Peru in 1534 by Francisco Pizarro, reinforced this ascendancy. With bullion pouring in from their mines, the coffers of the Spanish government overflowed with revenue.⁹ Within only a few decades Spain controlled,

⁹The effects of the Spanish and Peruvian bullion served as a double-edged sword to the Spanish government. Unquestionably richer due to this bullion, much of it either went to conduct Spanish wars against the French, Portuguese, Turks, and especially, the bloody civil war in the Netherlands during the 1580's, or was pocketed by unscrupulous Spanish officials. Only to exacerbate the situation, the dramatic increase in

although rather tenuously and mostly in name, the entire American continent. While other nations emerged from either internecine regional conflict or feudal restraints, Spain laid the foundations of the first truly global empire.

Although others might justifiably contend that the Atlantic Ocean was not the exclusive dominion of the Spanish, few could argue that the Pacific Ocean was not. First, the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1493 effectively gave all lands west of the fortieth meridian to the Spanish.¹⁰ Vasco Nuñez de Balboa was the first European to sight the “Southern Sea” in 1513, Ferdinand Magellan was the first man to sail on the Pacific in 1519, and Hernan Cortes was the first man to establish a harbor on the Pacific coast at Zacatula in 1523.¹¹ For the entire sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Pacific was a “Spanish Lake,” home to such explorers as Loisa, Mendoza, Torres, and Saavedra, even though occasional desultory expeditions by the Dutch and English occurred.

From their ports of Zacatula and Acapulco, the Viceroy of New Spain dispatched expeditions up the coast, most of which ended in disaster. Fortun Jimenez, the first to discern the Baja Peninsula; Francisco de Ulloa, the first to delimit the Gulf of California;

revenue in this relatively backward nation precipitated hyperinflation in Spain. A similar situation occurred once again during the last apogee of Spanish power during the reign of Carlos III. Charles Petrie, *King Charles III of Spain: An Enlightened Despot* (London: Constable, 1971)

¹⁰Jeanette Mirsky, *To the Arctic! The Story of Northern Exploration from Earliest Times to the Present* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1970), p. 25.

¹¹J. Leitch Wright Jr., *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in North America* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia, 1971), pp. 1-4. He provides an excellent summary of early Spanish endeavors in America.

and Hernando de Alarcon, the first to sight the Colorado River were notable exceptions.¹²

Proof of the fabulous cities of *Cibola* and *Quivera* reputed to be replete with gold impelled these voyages. It was Cabeza de Vaca, on his eight-year trek of 1534 (from Louisiana through New Mexico into central Mexico) who reported the existence of these fabulous cities. Subsequently, the discovery of these riches stood paramount to all other objectives.

The incremental success of these voyages paled in comparison to Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo's expedition of 1542. The Viceroy of New Spain, Antonio Mendoza, ordered him to sail up the west coast of America to delineate it, search for opulent kingdoms and a transcontinental passageway. In June, Cabrillo and his vessels, the *San Salvador* and *Victoria*, set out from Mexico. They landed and took possession at San Miguel (San Diego Bay) and later sailed as far north as Cape Mendocino or Point Reyes, outside of present-day San Francisco. On 3 January 1543, Cabrillo died and thus command devolved to Bartolomé Ferrer. Ferrer pushed the vessels perhaps as far north as present-day Cape Blanco in Oregon.¹³ Unfortunately, since the expedition did not view any cities resplendent in wealth, or a passageway to the Atlantic, its accomplishments slipped into oblivion. The voyage was important for it gave a vague outline of the coast and some of

¹²Charles E. Chapman, *A History of California: The Spanish Period* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1939), pp. 48-54.

¹³Henry R. Wagner, *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937), pp. 40-45.

its fine harbors.

The conquest of the Philippines and later the establishment of the Manila trade route brought more emphasis upon the emerging Alta California coastline. Fray Andres de Urdaneta's 1565 voyage from the Philippines to New Spain inaugurated this trade route. In order to take advantage of the Japan Current and the Westerlies, these galleons, filled with silks, tea, porcelain, and other *chinoiserie*, had to sail north. Urdaneta and his successors sighted the American coastline between 30° and 40°N, then followed its littoral down to Acapulco. These arduous annual voyages necessitated the construction of a resting spot somewhere along the route, most notably in Alta California.

While Spanish officials contrived these grand schemes to bring fortune to Felipe II, English pirates rudely notified Spain of its vulnerability. Francis Drake, undoubtedly the most famous of these men, commanded one of those expeditions in 1577. After sacking various Spanish settlements in South America, he set sail for the unknown mid-latitudinal coast of North America, searching for the mythical transcontinental passage. Failing to find it, Drake landed outside of present-day San Francisco and claimed the entire Pacific realm for the British. His *Nova Albion* became a source of contention in the 1700's, for the British exhaustively attempted to use Drake's claim to solidify its own assertions on the Pacific Northwest.

The Spanish dominion then suffered from an even worse blow. Thomas Cavendish, another Englishman, sailed to the Pacific Ocean via Cape Horn. Perhaps

hearing from Drake of the annual Manila galleon, Cavendish sailed directly to where he believed the tired crew would catch sight of land. Off Cabo San Lucas, he seized the galleon *Santa Ana*, described by the Bishop of the Philippines as “the richest ship to leave these islands.”¹⁴ After stripping it of all its worth, he grounded and burnt the vessel, escaping to Great Britain by the way he came.

Drake and Cavendish’s activities on the Pacific Coast horrified Spanish officials. Although Madrid nominally controlled much of the American continent, logistically speaking, it was quite difficult to defend it. Aware of such a deficiency, officials in New Spain and Peru feared that these two voyages presaged a period of unbridled piratical activity in the Pacific. To compound their anxiety rumors swirled over the Englishmen’s entranceway into the ocean, for some circles suggested they had discovered a transcontinental strait and used it as their escape. Officials in Mexico now began in earnest to probe the Pacific coastline in search of the western entrance to this passageway.

One such voyage was that of Sebastian Vizcaino in 1602. Perhaps the most significant voyage vis-à-vis the California Coast, Felipe III ordered him to reconnoiter the coast to Cabrillo’s Cape Mendocino, as well as examine every suitable harbor and inlet en route. In the *San Diego*, *Santo Tomas*, and *Tres Reyes*, Vizcaino and his two hundred men set sail in May 1602. The vessels succeeded in charting San Diego and Monterey

¹⁴Irving Berdine Richman, *California Under Spain and Mexico, 1535-1847* (New York: Cooper

Bay. The *Santo Tomas* turned back due to scurvy. The other two vessels persevered, endeavoring to reach Cape Blanco. Storms played havoc with them resulting in the decision to head back to Mexico. Vizcaino took a reading at 41°N (present-day northern California), but once again storms battered the vessels. Following a reading of 42° (Oregon-California border), Vizcaino hurried home in his vessel, *the San Diego*.¹⁵

Like Cabrillo, fierce winds and unceasing cold thwarted Vizcaino from penetrating past Cape Blanco. However, his expedition contributed much to the delineation of the California coast. His charting of San Diego and Monterey Bay guaranteed these harbors' usage later in the eighteenth century.

Despite Vizcaino's later attempts, the Spanish government thwarted any continued explorations of the Northwest Coast of America. The Viceroy of New Spain, Juan de Mendoza y Luna, Marquis de Montesclaros, forbade any more expeditions, despite requests for the establishment of Monterey to serve as a resting spot. For one hundred and fifty years, the prevailing belief, propounded by the detractors to further exploration, was that the failure to discover a Northwest Passage would benefit Spain more than its discovery. Even if found by Spain, Montesclaros argued, British and Russian intelligence would inevitably stumble upon the news. Such a revelation would trigger foreign

Square Publishers, 1965), pp. 17-19. It gives a cursory overview of both expeditions.

¹⁵Chapman, *California*, pp. 124-142. Although the *San Diego* turned back, the *Trey Reyes* sighted a large waterway at 43°N. It became known as Rio de Martin de Aguilar.

competition and potentially jeopardize Spain's tenuous domination of the Pacific and western coast of America. This defensive stance prevailed up into the nineteenth century.

Thus, in relation to Alaska, within seventy-five years of Cortes's conquest of the Aztecs, the Spanish effectively ceased their northward advance. Unlike Russian eastward expansion or American westward movement, which quickly swept across their respective plains, the Spanish penetration north was intermittent. Beyond this, no noteworthy explorations by sea occurred until 1769. Such sporadic action no doubt hurt Spain's later claims to the coast. Had Madrid overturned Montesclaros's moratorium and established Monterey one hundred and fifty years earlier, it would have possessed much firmer ground to contend its claims in the last third of eighteenth century.

Another reason exists for the cessation of activity. As stated the quest to locate *Quivera* and *Cibola* stood paramount to all other objectives. Despite numerous overland and maritime expeditions, these opulent kingdoms eluded the Iberians. Similarly, the coast of Baja and Alta California did not conceal any sophisticated civilizations similar to the Incas or Aztecs. Although Drake and Cavendish's sackings worried the Spaniards, they felt reassured knowing that no other significant power bordered the Pacific. To them it seemed wasteful to expend large amounts of money exploring a region that held no inherent value, or for that matter, defending it from nonexistent enemies. In short, viceregal myopia and complacency, inhospitable lands and seas, and fear of discovering a transcontinental passageway all contributed to the end of exploration in the area.

Fantastic Maps and Voyages

Throughout the Age of Discovery, speculative geographers entertained Europeans with their fanciful maps of the world. The desire to find a transcontinental passageway fueled the imaginations of explorers and the men who recorded their findings. Upon realizing that a large continent obstructed their passage to the lucrative East Indies, the governments of various nations schemed to find the quickest route around America. In 1523 Carlos I instructed Cortes to search for this passage, purportedly existing to the north of Mexico, connecting the South Sea [Pacific Ocean] to the North Sea [Atlantic Ocean]. Geographer Giacomo Gastaldi in the mid-sixteenth century called this alleged strait, Anian.¹⁶ In truth this transcontinental passageway manifested itself in many forms, most notably Anian, Maldonado, Fonte, and Juan de Fuca.

Aside from the documented voyages of Cabrillo and Vizcaino, literature and cartography have perpetuated three apocryphal voyages said to have occurred near the turn of the seventeenth century. All three purported to have sailed through the Strait of Anian, all at different latitudes. Regardless of its supposed location and authenticity these myths caused speculative geographers to place these imaginary passages on their maps. Thus explorers in the eastern Pacific for two hundred years set out to ascertain whatever

¹⁶Gastaldi borrowed this named from Portuguese explorer Gaspar Cortereal. Upon sailing in the northern Atlantic Ocean in 1499 he entered a large channel opening into a sea. He named the channel Anian. In all likelihood, he entered Hudson Strait and Bay, respectively. Robert Greenhowe, *The History of Oregon and California* (Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown, 1844) Reprinted Los Angeles: Sherwin & Freutel,

manifestation of the Strait of Anian.

Chronologically, the expedition of Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado sailed through the transcontinental passageway first. Written by the aforementioned navigator in 1609, and subsequently discovered by a noble Castilian family in the 1770's, the manuscript retold the tale of Maldonado's 1588 expedition. In it the Iberian sailed from the Atlantic Ocean around the top of North America, through the Strait of Anian into the Pacific Ocean and back.¹⁷ Perhaps climactic variations in the Arctic Ocean could have allowed such a voyage, but it is highly unlikely. The purported existence of Maldonado's Strait, situated around 60°N, propelled Spain's most comprehensive and well-equipped expedition to the area in 1791.

Perhaps the best known of the three apocryphal voyages is that of the Greek Juan de Fuca, alias Apostolos Valerianos. Written by Michael Lok in 1596, upon from what Fuca told him, Lok's account chronicles the Greek's journey of 1592. He said to have sailed into an opening at 49°N and thus made his way through the American continent to the Atlantic. In all likelihood, if such an expedition occurred, Juan de Fuca perhaps sailed into the passage that bears his name today, sailed through the Strait of Georgia, and back out into the Pacific. Perhaps he believed he entered the Atlantic Ocean despite the short distance he would have traveled, and then returned through the same route, never

¹⁷ 1970, p. 42.

knowing he remained entirely in the Pacific Ocean.¹⁸ Regardless, Spanish, English, and American explorers together ascertained its true dimensions in 1792.

The third apocryphal strait belongs to one Bartolomé Fonte. An account of his voyage appeared in a London magazine in 1708. Entering a passage at 53°N, which he named Los Reyes, and a large archipelago named St. Lazarus, the sailor encountered a vessel named “Maltechusets” commanded by a Bostonian Captain Shapley.¹⁹ Unlike Maldonado and Juan de Fuca, no evidence even supports the existence of the man Bartolomé Fonte, much less his alleged voyage. His passageway was not debunked until the early 1790’s.

No matter how preposterous these voyages may sound today, contemporary cartographers took them quite seriously. Their propensity to use these voyages to fill in blank areas in their maps impeded actual discovery of unknown locales. For example Vizcaino’s foolhardy obsession with discovering the mythical *Islas de Armenio*, located in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, distracted his efforts to contest Montesclaros. Conversely, reckless pursuits of imaginary locations, at times accelerated the discovery of an actual area. Vitus Bering’s goal to discover the apocryphal *De Gama Land* and *Company Land* directly led him to touch land off of Alaska’s Kayak Island. The existence

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 79-83.

¹⁸Cook, *Flood Tide*, pp. 22-29.

¹⁹Wagner, *Cartography*, p. 158.

of the Strait of Anian, either as Maldonado, Fonte, or Juan de Fuca Straits, haunted explorers for almost two hundred years.

The mapmaking family of Delisle perpetuated these legendary straits and other imaginary lands in their maps. Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, these cartographers held much credibility in the various governments of Europe. Their collective work culminated in the fantastic 1752 map named the *Carte des Nouvelles Decouvertes au Nord de la Mer du Sud*. Aside from the three aforementioned straits, and the Rio de Martin Aguilar, it highlighted the apocryphal islands of two explorers. The Dutch explorer Marten Vries, while off of the coast of Japan, discovered two islands named *Company Land* and *Staten Island*. Jesuits in Japan told him of another nearby island named *Yeso*. Also Portuguese sailor Joao de Gama, en route to America from China, supposedly sighted an island near 44°N, east of Japan, named *De Gama Land*.²⁰ This map featured these islands in the North Pacific.

Delisle and company also gave birth to the *Mer de L'Ouest*. The straits of Juan de Fuca and Rio de Martin Aguilar allowed entrance to this large body of water inside the North American continent. This *Mer de L'Ouest* appears to have been a fabrication of Delisle, for no accounts exist to verify this supposed bay. Although not completely agreeing with Delisle and his in-law Philippe Buache, cartographer Jacques Nicolas Bellin

²⁰Wagner, *Cartography*, p. 138. In all likelihood these islands were that of the Kuril chain and

continued this misinformation with his 1755 and 1766 maps.

Since scholarly circles in Europe considered Delisle, Buache, and Bellin as the preeminent cartographers of the time, their maps carried much sway. Other cartographers, including Spaniard Andres Marcos Burriel, lambasted these men for perpetuating what even at that time seemed to be spurious accounts of imaginary lands. Nevertheless, governments adhered to the veracity of these maps, and upon launching explorations, instead of seeking to debunk these fabled waterways, Britain, Spain, and Russia sought to legitimize them.

One must remember that concomitant with the lack of knowledge of the North Pacific Ocean was that of the western reaches of North America. Since the time of Cortes, Spain asserted the preposterous theory that New Spain stretched north until the Polar Sea. Spain had no inkling how far land continued north. Delisle's maps, though accurate near the equator and even the northern Atlantic, turned fanciful and amorphous north of Cape Blanco. No Western power had any notion of the true appearance of the western North American continent until the exploits of a Dane and a Russian.

Background to North Pacific Rivalry

The seventeenth century was one of marked degradation for Spain. After Felipe II, the empire suffered from three inept, self-absorbed rulers: the vice-less imbecilic Felipe

perhaps the Japanese island of Hokkaido.

III (1598-1621), the vice-ridden Felipe IV (1621-1666) and the miscreant, but well-intentioned Carlos II “The Bewitched” (1666-1700). Under these dolts, the Spanish government and all its extensive domains languished. These Habsburg monarchs and their overcomplicated system of government undermined and squandered much of the prestige and wealth Spain had accumulated during the Golden Age. Had it not been for the accession of Bourbon power at the turn of the century, the Spanish, in all likelihood, ultimately would have lost their overseas colonies.

The decline of Spain signaled a shift in Anglo-Spanish affairs. Long the underdog in this affair, England seized its opportunity to exact revenge against their Catholic foe. The vulnerable Spanish colonies served the English merchants well, for they possessed the manufactured goods desired by the insatiable Spanish colonists. The British conducted illegal trading in Spanish domains as well as seizing vessels in the tradition of Drake and Cavendish. Such action angered Spanish officials and thus created reciprocal atrocities against English vessels in the area. In fact, Great Britain and Spain were constantly at war in the Americas, without even the perfunctory declaration of one. Madrid, cognizant that alone it would be difficult to fend off the British mercantile juggernaut, decided to employ the assistance of France, in the form of the Family Compacts. The 1733, 1743, and 1761 Compacts served as a quasi-alliance between the two Bourbon powers, an alliance to counterbalance the unrivaled strength of the British navy.

Spain and Great Britain faced a new rival in determining the destiny of the North

Pacific: the Russians. Beginning with Yermak's conquest of the Ust Urt on the Tobolsk River in 1582, the "major Slavs" had quickly traversed across the width of the Asian continent, facilitated by both a sparse native population and its virtually Neolithic weaponry. Within sixty years of Yermak's conquest of the Tatar kingdom and through the use of the extensive Siberian river system, the Russians, with the great assistance of their Cossack vanguard, sailed and portaged their way to the Pacific Ocean by 1644, with the founding of Okhotsk. Like future action in Alaska, the voracious and unrelenting hunt for animal furs, not discovery of land for its own sake, pushed the Russians to the steps of America.

With the southern entrance blocked by superior powers, the Russians plied their way farther north to locate a port to accommodate their Oriental trade. They attempted unsuccessfully to seize the Amur River valley from the more powerful Manchus of China. Subsequently, the Russians signed the Treaty of Nerchinsk with China in 1689, thus delimiting the southern boundary of Siberia at the Stanavoi Mountains instead of the Amur.²¹ Without an ocean exit to the south, the Cossacks focused their attention to the more inhospitable northeast segments of the continent, namely the little known Kamchatka and Chukotsk peninsulas.

Much like the years 1492 and 1776 in American history, 1689 was a watershed

²¹F.A. Golder, *Russian Expansion on the Pacific, 1641-1850* (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1960), p. 64.

mark in Russian history with the accession of Peter the Great to the Russian throne (1689 to 1725).²² Imbued with the ideals of the Enlightenment, he put into motion the greatest and most comprehensive of Arctic explorations: the Great Northern Expedition (1725-1743).²³ Peter sent the Dane, Vitus Bering, to ascertain whether or not the Asian and American continents joined at a given point. Bering's 1728 expedition proved inconclusive to many, for although he did sail between the two continents, fog impeded any sighting of the American continent.

Displeased with his findings, Moscow called for a comprehensive study of Siberia by both land and sea of the entire Russian arctic. The segment, which holds the most importance to Alaska, is that of the *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*. The Russian government ordered Bering to sail along 46° to determine the existence of Delisle's *De Gama Land*. Upon discovery he was to sail northeast until landfall with North America, travel along its coast to 65°N and then measure the distance between the *Bolshaya Zemlya*, "large land" and the Chukotsk peninsula.²⁴

Bering's landing on Kayak Island, his sighting of Kodiak Island and that of the Shumagins, and his second-in-command, Aleksei Chirikov's discovery of the Alexander Archipelago all laid the blueprint for Alaska. Their voyage by no means determined the

²²Although Peter the Great ascended to the throne in 1682, he did not achieve full power until the deposition of his regent half-sister Sophie in 1689.

²³Occasionally referred to as the First and Second Kamchatka Expeditions.

contour of the extreme northwest section of the North American continent. It did however expose new lands and eliminate the existence of others, namely *DeGama* and *Company Land*. Furthermore, the plenitude of skins returned by both expeditions impelled later fur traders, or *promyshleniki*, to “fill in the blanks” of the new continent. The “island hopping” of the Aleutian Islands occurred with relatively swift speed, for by Perez’s 1774 voyage, the Russians knew of the entire chain, and much of the Alaskan Peninsula and Kodiak Island.²⁵

It must be noted that the Russian government never explicitly sponsored any of these voyages, although St. Petersburg naturally did nothing to prevent these Russian fur hunters from enlarging their dominion. Despite the rudimentary knowledge of the geography of the area, it became apparent that no other foreign power held these islands. Alaska was virgin land unknown to the Western world.

The Russian government judiciously held its official sanction, for it still did not want to anger any foreign powers. After appraising the economic and political viability of the Aleutians, the government notified the other maritime powers of Europe of Russia’s intent on maintaining these new lands as their own. In many of Europe’s capitals it was a great shock, for although the Russians did not hide the progress of their fur traders, the

²⁴A.I. Alekseev, *The Destiny of Russian America 1741-1867*, trans. by Marina Ramsay and ed. by R.A. Pierce (Kingston, Ontario: Limestone Press, 1990), pp. 16-19.

²⁵Alekseev, *Destiny*, p. 53.

other powers simply did not possess the means to ascertain the progress for themselves. Much like the balance of power in Europe, the other maritime powers awoke to protect their own interests, as well as to stifle Russia's.

Chapter II

The Bucareli Expeditions of 1774 and 1775

Russian Specter

Despite the moratorium on exploratory activity in Alta California and beyond, the Spanish made strides in Baja California. Since the time of Vizcaino, the fabled pearls of the Sea of Cortes brought private entrepreneurs to the area. It was, however, the Jesuits, under the aegis of the government, who brought Baja California into Spanish control. Father Eusebio Kino and Juan Maria Salvatierra established the first permanent settlement on the peninsula at Loreto in 1697.²⁶ For over eighty years, the scarcity of funds, supplies, and colonists, as well as native hostility, all pushed Loreto and the few others settlements to the brink of extinction. With the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans took over the task of conversion and maintenance of the missions.

Fear of the Russians did not motivate the colonization of Baja California. Up until the mid-eighteenth century Spain did not possess the faintest clue concerning Russian activity on their northern periphery. Since no one had penetrated farther than 42° (the present-day Oregon-California border), Madrid did not know if *promyshleniki* were one hundred or one thousand miles from California. In fact the Spanish were so backward in their intelligence, they did not learn of the Bering voyage until 1756, a full fifteen years

²⁶Richman, *California*, pp. 42-61. This author provides a nice chapter on the subject.

later.

However, two publications warned the Spanish government of the seeming inevitability of a Russian incursion. Father Guiseppe Torrubia, in his 1759 work *The Moscovites in California*, warned of the Russian specter lurking off the coast of California. Miguel Venegas, and the Spanish cartographer Andres Marcos Burriel, in the *Noticias de la California* of 1757, seconded that notion. Both chronicled the Russian assault on Siberia and Bering's subsequent voyages to the New World. Now that the Russians possessed a legitimate claim to the northern reaches of the New World, to these scholars it was only a matter of time before they seized California.²⁷

According to Spanish intelligence the Russian phantom menace began to materialize. Conde de Lacy, the Spanish ambassador to Russia, reported to Carlos III that Russia began preparation for an invasion of California. He added that all measures should be taken to thwart this aggression.²⁸ Thus, within twenty-five years Spain's perspective dramatically altered from blissful isolation to full alert. Fortunately for them, the dynamic Bourbon rulers spurred into action.

²⁷F. Guiseppe Torrubia, *The Muscovites in California or rather Demonstration of the Passage from North America Discovered by the Russians, and of the ancient One of the Peoples Who Transmigrated there from Asia* (Farifield: Ye Galleon, 1996), Originally published Rome: G. Salomoni, 1759, pp. iii-iv.

²⁸Mercedes Palau, "The Spanish Presence on the Northwest Coast: Sea-Going Expeditions," *To the Totem Shore* (Vancouver: World Exposition, 1986), p. 43. Of course, now it seems absurd that such an invasion could have ever taken place, but at the time it was a perceived threat.

The Visionary Triumvirate

The Bourbon dynasty, which began its rule in 1700, enacted many reforms for the more efficient governing of the colonies. Carlos III reformed the means of government by giving more power to the colonies through the *intendant* system and partitioning of the viceroyalties. Out of the enormous Viceroyalties of Peru and New Spain, the Bourbons created the Viceroyalties of Granada and La Plata. Both moves brought greater self-governing to the increasingly hostile colonies.

Yet Spain was quite lucky that foreign invaders encroached at this given time, for unlike the incompetent Habsburg officials, adept, perspicacious leaders blessed the Iberian nation. Carlos III was the most outstanding of all Bourbons. His attempts to reform the bureaucracy, augment state revenue, and strengthen colonial defenses brought the empire to an apex of power, organization, and relative efficiency rivaled only by the Golden Age. For a brief time the world once again feared Spain.

Part of his reform included the notion of visitor-general. These men mirrored papal nuncios, for they were representatives of the king dispatched to assess the needs of a particular region. In general, their random “check-ups” ensured the Spanish government more efficiency and dynamism from these normally stagnant locales. One such inspector was José de Galvez, sent to New Spain to investigate allegations of malfeasance in the viceregal government.

José de Galvez complemented Carlos III’s style in that Galvez had the unyielding

energy to implement all of Carlos's plans. Indubitably, the former became the dynamo of all Spanish activity on the Northwest coast. After arriving in the New World in 1765 the Spaniard focused much of his energy on the Indian revolts in Sonora, near present-day Arizona, and the portentous news of Russian movement.

The final member of the triumvirate was that of the Viceroy of New Spain: first Carlos Francisco de Croix and later Antonio Maria de Bucareli. Not since Viceroy Mendoza of Cortes' time had such vigorous and focused men held the office of the viceroy. Both men possessed the same vision as Galvez of the northern frontier.

In 1768, Galvez convened a junta--consisting of Viceroy Croix, the archbishop, judges of the Audiencia, and other dignitaries--to deal with the Russian threat. Here Galvez espoused his blueprint for colonization of Alta California. To reinvigorate dormant expansion, the committee suggested the following:

- ❖ Establishment of a General Command of the Interior Provinces, comprising Sonora, Sinaloa, New Vizcaya (Durango), and the Californias. Here, by removing the bureaucratic pitfalls of Mexico City, quicker action could be taken to thwart either Indian or foreign incursions.
- ❖ Due to reports that the Russians were only eight hundred leagues from Monterey, and that they planned a settlement there, Spain must establish settlements in Monterey and other ports.
- ❖ A new port should be constructed to supply these future settlements and serve as a base of explorations for the Northwest Coast.²⁹

²⁹Cook, *Flood Tide*, pp. 48-49.

Galvez and Viceroy Croix envisioned the northern frontier as resplendent realm, filled with natural resources and industrious colonists. It would someday surpass the greatness of Mexico. Unfortunately Spain of the eighteenth century was not yet prepared economically for this veritable utopia.

San Blas and the Sacred Expedition of the Californias

Choosing a site for the future port proved to be more difficult than imagined, with the final choice being quite unsatisfactory. Mexican officials had planned to construct a port to serve California on the lower reaches of Baja California, near Loreto. However, to illustrate the inadequacies of the supply and communication lines of the time, the viceroyalty considered Baja California too remote. Proposals for the eastern coast of the Sea of Cortes in the province of Sinaloa proved to be too distant as well.

The destined choice became the port of San Blas, 140 miles west of Guadalajara, halfway between present-day Mazatlan and Puerto Vallarta. Suffering from excruciating high humidity and temperatures in the summer, coupled with deluge of rainfall in the winter, made San Blas, in all practicality, unlivable. Ubiquitous mosquitoes also brought a gamut of diseases to the harbor. In truth, San Blas had been created as a civilian town in 1767, but due to frequent storms, flooding, and the foregoing debilitations, the settlers abandoned it for the fresher climate of Tepic, forty-two miles west in the highlands.³⁰

³⁰Michael E. Thurman, *The Naval Department of San Blas: New Spain's Bastion for Alta California*

Galvez resurrected the port the following year under command of the Spanish viceregal government.

Despite its disadvantages, San Blas held some redeeming qualities. Its most important was its strategic location to Sonora, California and the Northwest Coast, a trait in which better defended and spacious Acapulco did not possess. It also enjoyed access to fresh water streams of year-round flow and a surplus of various hardwoods for ship construction. Albeit tiny, it possessed a turning basin and a sheltered inner and outer harbor.³¹

Galvez' plan spurred into action in 1769. Soldiers, supplies, missionaries, and colonists gathered in Baja California. From there, an overland expedition and a seagoing one would embark separately and later reunite in San Diego Bay. Vicente Vila and Juan Perez, *San Carlos* and *Principe* respectively, led the sea voyage while Fernando Rivera y Moncada and Gaspar de Portola, accompanied by Franciscans Junipero Serra and Juan Crespi, commanded the land one. The two contingents met in San Diego and then proceeded to Monterey individually. Upon arrival, Portola led a group of soldiers north to the famed San Francisco Bay; something that had evaded Drake, Vizcaino, and others for

and *Nootka 1767 to 1789* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clarke, 1967), p. 23.

³¹The port of Santiago de Manchatel, three miles southwest of San Blas, had served as the primary port for supply voyages to Baja California at the turn of the eighteenth century. The fact that it was an open bay buffeted by strong winds and tides brought about its demise by the 1760's.

over two hundred years.³² One hundred and seventy years after Cabrillo, Spain finally colonized California.

54°40' or Failure?

While regular voyages between San Blas and California ensued in the years 1769 to 1774, a variety of changes occurred to the major players of San Blas. Primarily, Jose de Galvez returned to Spain in 1772 and later replaced Julian Arriaga as Minister of the Indies, the highest colonial government position. He served the office for eleven years, never disregarding the projects he created as visitor-general. The government transferred Viceroy Croix to Peru; in his stead, they appointed Antonio Maria Bucareli as Viceroy of New Spain. Bucareli proved to be a valuable asset, exhibiting many of Galvez's qualities vis-à-vis Spanish defense of the Northwest Coast

A series of correspondences between Minister of the Indies Arriaga and Viceroy Bucareli impelled the first Alaskan voyage into existence. On 11 April 1773, Arriaga sent a letter to Bucareli warning him of Russian incursions in California and added that Bucareli should enact any measures necessary to thwart this aggression. For emphasis, he included Conde de Lacy's portentous report to Madrid of these Russian movements. Bucareli responded by assenting to the need of expansion north, "not because the king needs to enlarge his realms...but in order to avoid consequences brought by having any

³²Chapman, *California*, pp. 216-232. He offers an excellent overview of the event.

other neighbors [to the north] other than Indians³³.” The viceroy decided that an expedition be sent within the year to determine the proximity of California to Russian sites or vessels.

Bucareli designated Juan José Perez Hernandez as the commander of this first expedition. What is known about Perez’s life prior to 1769 is sketchy. He was born in the Balearic Island of Mallorca on 24 June, of which year remains a mystery. The friar Juan Crespi’s journal suggests that prior to his 1768 arrival to San Blas, Perez spent much of his life in China and the Philippines, navigating the rich Manila galleons from the Orient to Acapulco. Indeed, much credit should be given to him, for he commanded the *Principe* during the Sacred Expedition and later sailed between San Blas and Monterey to supply the nascent settlements. Although evidence indicates that he might have had some formal training from a petty officer school, it is certain that experience had schooled Perez, for no one was more acquainted with the waters of the Eastern Pacific than he.³⁴

Viceroy Bucareli told Perez of his selection. He ordered Perez to submit a proposal as to what he expected to accomplish and how far north he could ascend. Perez believed he could reach 45° or 50°N. In September, 1773 he submitted his proposal to

³³Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 55. Quoted from a letter from Bucareli to Arriaga, 27 July, 1773 SpAGI (Indif. Gen., Mex. 1630).

³⁴Herbert Beals, *Juan Perez on the Northwest Coast: Six Documents of His Expedition in 1774* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1989), pp.17-19. Due to his lack of navigation school training, it seems that he resented the younger, higher ranking officer that came to San Blas after this voyage. Indeed, he never received a promotion, even after the voyage, and died with the same rank, that of ensign.

Bucareli. The viceroy, in return, sent secret instructions to Perez on 24 December 1773 but the latter was ordered to keep them sealed until departing from his last port of call, Monterey.

Perez left San Blas on 24 January 1774. The crew consisted of Perez, a second pilot, Estéban Jose Martinez, friar Juan Crespi, a surgeon, a boatswain, two boatswain's mates, two caulkers, two stewards, a gunner, fourteen helmsmen, twenty seamen, thirty apprentice seamen, six cabin boys, and four cooks. The frigate *Santiago*, which had been completed months earlier at San Blas, weighed two-hundred-and-twenty-five tons, possessed a three-masted figure, and measured seventy-seven feet along its keel, and twenty-seven feet abeam.³⁵ Much like his old assignments, Perez supplied goods for the fledgling California missions before departing Monterey 11 June.

From then on, the expedition became one of reconnaissance and discovery. The viceroy's instructions enumerated twenty-six articles, some broad others absurd. Among them Bucareli ordered Perez:

- ❖ To ascend to the latitude that Perez considered suitable, yet to keep in mind that landing must occur in the vicinity of 60°N. Afterwards to follow the coast down to Monterey "never losing sight of it..., and make the most minute exploration."³⁶
- ❖ To not establish any settlements, yet take formal possession of any such viable future sites. If encountered with foreign settlements, to sail farther north, and if

³⁵Ibid., p. 25.

³⁶Ibid., p. 26. Article VII. Quote taken from Manuel P. Servin, ed and trans. "The Instructions of Viceroy Bucareli to Ensign Juan Perez." *California Historical Quarterly* 40 (1961): 237-48.

encountered any foreign vessels to tell the captain that foul weather brought them to the said latitude.³⁷

- ❖ To engage in trade with any nearby natives and to treat them with excessive kindness and affection.³⁸

The word “Russia” or “Russians” is never mentioned in the orders. Of key importance, the instructions never explicitly mentioned nor intimated any desire for the creation of maps or charts, only that a navigational log be taken. This later proved to be an area of contention for Perez’ detractors.

Throughout his entire voyage, fog and foul weather greatly obstructed his goals of ascending to 60°N. The ship set a course due west to avoid the incessant California Current and prevailing westerlies which impeded all voyages northbound on the Pacific coast. Eventually turning north on 2 July and remaining in this direction for two weeks, the *Santiago* was on course to reach their goal of 60°N. However, fearful of a water shortage and lacking the courage and perseverance needed in a captain, Perez ordered the frigate to sail northeast to find the coast to retrieve fresh water. If he had not made such an order, in all certainty, the vessel would have landed slightly east of Yakutat Bay (59°40’N).

Perez rationalizes,

³⁷Ibid., p. 27. Article XIV, Servin.

³⁸Ibid. Articles XIV, XV, XVI, and XXX, Servin. Such precautions ensured that natives in the future would not exact reprisals for egregious behavior committed by the Spaniards.

In the first place, the winds experienced were so consistently from the south, southeast and southwest, which are adverse for returning. Secondly, to see the men already wakened from the cold and various ailments which had attacked them. And thirdly, considering the small water supply we had and no certainty of a port to replenish it; and the same time only two full water casks, others partly and some entirely empty.³⁹

Landfall came much sooner with Perez's turn to the northeast. {Color Map 1, p. 239} On 18 July, he sighted Langara Island and the much larger Graham Island of the Queen Charlotte Archipelago. He named Langara Island, Santa Margarita. The following two days, as Perez explains,

Considering that we were unable to accomplish anything against the swiftness of the current, we endeavored to withdraw ourselves somewhat, and being at a moderate distance [from shore], the wind slackened. Several canoes of Indians came into view, and seeing that we were not making any headway, they approached us and began trading with our crew.⁴⁰

After two days of trading with the Haida people and detailing their livelihood, Perez's attempt at an anchorage proved futile. Perez laments,

At 11:30 we drew near the Punta de Santa Margarita, with the intention of casting anchor if we found a fit place. Being advanced beyond the said point, we encountered furious current, which had we not been careful would have halted the ship. It had so much force that, moving along with the topsails and the foresail, and with a strong wind, we were barely able to keep the sails stiff, because of the greater flow of the current.⁴¹

The current pushed them away from Santa Margarita toward the northwest. While riding

³⁹Ibid., p. 52. Taken from Perez's letter to Bucareli upon his arrival, dated 31 Aug. 1774.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 78. Taken from Perez's diary, dated 20-21 July 1774.

⁴¹Ibid. Taken from Perez's diary, dated 20-21 July 1774. The fierce current Perez faced was that of the ebb tide flowing from Dixon Entrance, separating present-day Alaska from the Queen Charlotte Islands.

the current, the ensign alludes to the first Western sighting of Alaskan waters in over thirty years.

It was not possible [to anchor] because of the powerful and contrary winds, heavy showers and excessive cold that gripped us all. Finally, it was not possible to return and get ourselves close in to the north of Punta Santa Margarita a distance of six to eight leagues a rugged, precipitous cape was discovered which I named *Santa Maria Magdalena*.... To the west of the said cape is an island, averaging a distance of about seven leagues It appears there is a good passage between the cape and the island, [which was] named *Santa Christina*.⁴²

The former cape is presently *Cape Muzon* (54°39'50''N), the southernmost point of Dall Island west of Prince of Wales Island, and the latter is Forrester Island (54°48'N), west of Dall Island. Perez decided to head south to find an appropriate location for an act of possession and to retrieve water. He never anchored or took possession in Alaska.⁴³

The general consensus was that Perez's voyage was a complete waste of time and money. Culpability lies mostly with Perez and Martinez, although Viceroy Bucareli's orders in some ways impeded any true progress. The Mallorcan fell five degrees short of the viceroy's goal of 60° N; he made no landfalls or possessions; and produced absolutely

⁴²Ibid., p. 80. Taken from Perez's diary dated 20-21 July 1774.

⁴³Cook, *Flood Tide*, pp. 67-68. Perez's adventures in Alaskan waters ended with his serendipitous sightings of Forrester and Dall Islands; however, on his return, two significant events occurred which would later play a decisive role in Spanish history. On 7 August, he anchored outside of a large bay on the western coast of Vancouver Island. Very similar to his travails at 54°N, Perez traded with the natives but a strong current, which nearly drove him into the rocks, pushed him out of the vicinity. He named the outside of this enclosed bay, Surgidero de San Lorenzo. It was later to be known as Nootka Sound.

Another critical mistake occurred four days later. While retelling the story Perez's second-in-command Esteban José Martinez allegedly sighted a large opening near 48°20'N. In 1789 Martinez would assert that he pleaded Perez to investigate the opening, but the latter was reluctant to approach any closer. This

no maps or charts. With all the vitriol spewing over Perez's seeming ineptitude, it is truly difficult to feel sorry for a man with such a dearth of fortitude.

The list of grievances toward Perez's action or lack thereof proves to be quite extensive. Primarily, the reasoning behind his initial detour on 15 July from his north bearing to that of northeast was shortage of water. The *Santiago* contained a six months supply of fresh water. Had he continued north for a few more days, he could have laid claim to the discovery of Yakutat Bay near the viceroys' goal of 60°N. He stated that the fear of contrary winds dissuaded him from this northerly route. Since the advent of the Manila galleon trade route of the sixteenth century, Spanish navigators knew of the northwest-to-southeast California Current and of the prevailing westerlies, the winds that impel all galleons across the vast expanse of the Pacific. Being a galleon sailor himself he must have known he was to encounter contrary winds.

Secondly, his lack of tenacity while battling the currents and winds off the Pacific littoral destined the voyage for failure. As eloquently stated by author Herbert Beals,

He [Perez] has been accused of lacking the courage considered vital to geographic search and discovery...an enigmatic irresolute figure, whose persistent and seemingly inexplicable reluctance to take risks robbed him of the achievements more daring commander might have attained.⁴⁴

Francisco Mourelle, perhaps the greatest mapmaker of these Spanish voyages, rather

opening proved to be the apocryphal Juan de Fuca Strait.

⁴⁴Beals, *Perez*, p. 33.

cynically stated that “we [Spain] are left almost in the same ignorance.”⁴⁵ He later highlights Perez’s numerous failings,

A commander who was driven back by thirst when he might easily have carried water for six months; who complained of scurvy, when only one man was lost; who could find no anchorage on a coast where many good ports existed; and who with his associates could write so many diaries with so little information.⁴⁶

This is truly a harsh statement directed toward the inaugural voyage to an unknown area.

Despite such harsh criticism by most scholars, one must give Perez a little slack.

Despite his experience he was still just an ensign. His characterization of the natives upon their encounters is replete with excellent ethnographic material. It is easy for Mourelle to lambast with the aid of hindsight, yet for being an inaugural voyage, perhaps Perez knew that staying on the side of caution and expediency was a better approach. A dead crew could not recount its exploits.

To decide whether or not Perez was a failure, it would behoove all scholars to investigate the instructions and subsequent reactions of Viceroy Bucareli and Minister of the Indies Arriaga. Primarily, the instructions were flawed. Bucareli never mentioned the addition of maps and charts in his instructions to Perez, although it was this omission of cartography that hurt Perez the most. Many of the desires of Bucareli sought could not have been feasibly accomplished by such a vessel as the *Santiago*, without the assistance

⁴⁵Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 69. Taken from Mourelle’s “Compendio de noticias” [1791], SpMN (331), fol. 39v-40.

of a launch or schooner. The vastness and amorphous quality of the Pacific coastline, not to mention the bad weather, essentially guaranteed that few of Bucareli's goals would be accomplished.

In general the result of the 1774 expedition pleased Arriaga and Bucareli. Even if the expedition had not been

Able to complete entirely the instructions...I [Bucareli] always hold experience very useful, not that so much is accomplished in the first attempt as that it facilitates the outcome of those that follow and it affirms that in the nineteen degrees to which we have advance there is no fear of foreign settlement.⁴⁷

If Perez was such an abject failure, why did both men consider promoting Perez to lieutenant? Despite his shortcomings and those of the entire expedition, "Juan Perez has emerged as something of a legend in the early Spanish explorations to the Northwest Coast."⁴⁸

Regardless of the controversy engendered by the First Bucareli Expedition, the future was what lay ahead. Even the self-effacing Perez stated, "...whether or not it is the will of God or that such success is reserved for someone else, the fact is that the way is opened and recorded for others who may be worth of sailing it with better fortune."⁴⁹

Perhaps Perez was not the ideal vanguard, but simultaneous with his voyage, Carlos III

⁴⁶Beals, *Perez*, p. 34.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 35. Retrieved from an English translation of Bucareli's letter from Margaret Olive Johnson's "Spanish Exploration of the Pacific Coast by Juan Perez in 1774." Master's thesis, UC, 1911.

⁴⁸Thurman, *San Blas*, p. 140.

⁴⁹Beals, *Perez*, pp. 50-55. Quote taken from Perez's letter to Viceroy Bucareli upon his

dispatched six naval officers from the prestigious Escuela de Guardiamarinas in Cadiz to San Blas. In addition Bucareli assigned two pilots to the Naval Department of San Blas. All of these men excelled in areas that Perez lacked: mapmaking and navigation. One of those men, exhibited the tenacity and audacity Perez did not. The present-day island of Vancouver is named in honor of this man. His name was Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra.

The Little Ship That Could

During the Perez voyage, the monarchy began plans for another expedition to the Pacific Northwest. This time they recruited officers proficient in proper mapmaking and scientific techniques. Since Perez and Martinez had woefully failed in this area, Bucareli emphasized the need for quality sailors. From the six officers, seniority issued that Bruno de Hezeta y Dudagoitia would be given command of the second expedition.

Unlike the sole reconnoitering of Perez, the Second Bucareli Expedition would employ three vessels, all of which constructed at San Blas. The *Santiago* would once again be the flagship. Serving as its escort was the *Sonora*, alias *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*. This vessel, used for shallow draft exploring, was a tiny two-masted schooner, a little less than thirty-eight feet long at the keel, and twelve-and-a-half feet abeam. The packetboat *San Carlos* comprised the last of the three vessels. It was a two-

return to Monterey, dated 31 August 1774.

masted ship, sixty-four feet along the keel, twenty-three feet abeam, and possessed a displacement of 195.2 tons.⁵⁰ The most used Spanish vessel in Alaska, it anchored off its coastline on three separate occasions.

The eight men--six officers and two pilots-- called to San Blas became a veritable "Hall of Fame" of Spanish exploration. Bucareli placed Hezeta in command of the *Santiago*, and of the entire expedition. Serving as his second-in-command was the defeated, exhausted Juan Perez. The newly arrived graduates comprised the rest of the officer corps. Command of the *Sonora* fell to Juan de Ayala, and that of the *San Carlos* to Miguel de Manrique. Ostensibly due to seniority, but more likely due to the fact that he was a Creole, orders dictated that Bodega remain in San Blas and await the following year's expedition. However, he did not want to fester on the mainland; so he volunteered to serve as Ayala's second-in-command on the tiny *Sonora*. He comments:

Recognizing that the schooner's smallness and inadequacy for such a long and exposed voyage might occasion a delay if it carried only one officer, I decided in the best interest of such an important commission that I should request embarkation as its second officer, disregarding the obstacle of having to serve under the orders of another of my same rank.⁵¹

Bodega well illustrates his selflessness, zeal, and willingness to serve his king even under a colleague. With the addition of another officer, indubitably, the living quarters of the

⁵⁰Bruno de Hezeta and Herbert K. Beals, *For Honor and Country: The Diary of Bruno de Hezeta*, trans. and an. by Herbert K. Beals (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1985), pp. 34-35.

⁵¹Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 71. Taken from Bodega's *Diario*, fol. 3v, AT.

Sonora must have been cramped for all seventeen of its crewmembers, ten of them seized from local ranches with absolutely no sailing experience.

Despite the discomfort Viceroy Bucareli's instructions to Hezeta differed little from that of Perez. Wanting to utilize the mapmaking talents of his graduates and not wanting to repeat the mistakes of Perez, he ordered Hezeta to reach 65°N and then slowly and meticulously chart the coastline down to Monterey. Five degrees higher than Perez's objective, the viceroy wanted to discern whether the coastline curved westward at a higher latitude, as seen on Buache and Delisle's maps.⁵² The viceroy ordered the supply vessel, *San Carlos*, to leave the other ships and search for the Golden Gate entrance into San Francisco. Bucareli and the crown placed much more pressure on this expedition since the first one reaped so little.

A freak event changed the young officers' assignments. Three days out into sea the *Sonora* heralded a distress call. Manuel de Manrique, commander of the *San Carlos*, exhibited signs of insanity. Bloodletting and medicines abated the illness, but Hezeta ordered Manrique to return to San Blas via a launch. The commander then re-assigned the officers: Juan de Ayala was given the *San Carlos*, and Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra was given the schooner. Instantly, Bodega, who volunteered for the expedition,

⁵²A good indication as to Madrid's policy of secrecy is that orders given to Hezeta and to most Spanish explorers were not to be opened until well out into sea with officers as witness. This was to prevent any espionage and/or mutiny.

suddenly became commander of the *Sonora*. That was one piece of luck; the other was the pilot of the *Sonora*, one of the two pilots called in before the expedition. His name was Francisco Mourelle de la Rua.

Next to Martinez's future notoriety, Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra became the most influential Spanish Alaska explorer. Born in Lima Bodega entered the marine guard at nineteen and became a second lieutenant shortly before his assignment to San Blas. Bodega was thirty-two years old at the time of the expedition, but seemingly due to the class prejudice of the time, he was not given command. Only fate gave him the opportunity to perform one of the truly epic voyages of Pacific littoral exploration.

Bodega's unflinching colleague, Francisco Mourelle, became renowned for his meticulous mapmaking. From the La Coruna region of Spain, Mourelle's age of twenty belied his already vast experience in the West Indies. Bucareli sought out his services by transferring him to San Blas from a warship in Veracruz. Upon inspecting the three vessels, Mourelle decided that his services would best be served on the schooner. He became Bodega's second-in-command after Manrique's infirmity.⁵³

⁵³Thurman, *San Blas*, p. 145. The voyage quickly proved to be successful in the one critical area Perez's was not: taking possession of the land in the name of Spain. After Juan de Ayala separated from Hezeta and Bodega, the tandem spent nine days at a place Hezeta named Trinidad in present-day northern California. There they erected a cross and claimed possession. On 14 July Bodega lost six men due to a native ambush at Martyr's Cove near Point Grenville in present-day Washington. Bodega and Mourelle thirsted for revenge, but Hezeta and Perez dissented, saying that it would only threaten the entire expedition. Shortly prior to the ambush, Hezeta and his priests came ashore and performed an act of possession on the morning of 14 July.

The expedition embarked on 16 March 1775. Off the coast of Vancouver Island fate brought these officers together for an important decision. Many of the crewmen who participated in the previous year's voyage perished quickly out at sea, for two consecutive seasons of sailing simply proved to be too much. Much of the crew of both vessels exhibited signs of scurvy, a crew now understaffed due to ambush. Hezeta worried whether the crew could even cast the anchor. On the night of 29 July, Hezeta summoned the officers to deliberate whether or not the vessels should turn back. Mourelle and Bodega adamantly opposed it, while the rest of the officers beseeched the two to agree to "run with the wind." That night the two vessels lost contact; one vessel headed south to reconnoiter the coast, the other continued north alone to brave the ocean.⁵⁴

Now understaffed the officers met again to decide the fate of the *Sonora*. Once again, Mourelle and Bodega were of the opinion the schooner could continue. Perez, in one of his few moments of lucidity stated, "it seemed that if they had reached that latitude with success, without doubt they could take it farther." Hezeta placed his rubber stamp on the agreement and the two vessels continued north despite the crew showing signs of scurvy.

⁵⁴Francisco Antonio Mourelle, *Voyage of the Sonora in the Second Bucareli Expedition: To Explore the Northwest Coast Survey the Port of San Francisco and Found Franciscan Missions and a Presidio and Pueblo at that Port*, trans. by Daines Barrington (San Francisco: Thomas C. Russell, 1920), Reprint. Millwood: Kraus, 1975), pp.86-88. Taken from Mourelle's *Diario*. Despite not coming even remotely close to the viceroy's wish of 65°, Hezeta wanted to satisfy the other request of Bucareli, that is closely charting the coast back to Monterey. To this instruction, he succeeded. On 17 August he sighted "the mouth of some great river, or of some passage to another sea." He endeavored to enter this river but due to the strong current and his enfeeble crew, he failed. He named the opening "Bahia de la Asuncion de Nuestra Señora." It later appeared on many maps as the "Entrada de Hezeta."

The Russians penetrating this "great river" was a primary concern and impetus of Arriaga and Galvez back in 1768, a river which would give access into the interior of the continent. It was not discovered for another seventeen years, when American John Gray named the river after his ship, the *Columbia Rediviva*. With a little more perseverance and luck, the Spanish in their first two voyages could have solidified their claims to Nootka Sound, Juan de Fuca Strait, and the Columbia River. With quick publication, anathema to Spanish policy at the time, these place names could have irrefutably remained in Spanish hands, instead the

The *Sonora*, ostensibly separated from the *Santiago* by fog and strong currents, continued the trek north. Mourelle does not intimate deceit at all in his journal entry for that day. "The weather becoming dark, the sea ran so high, that we could not distinguish the lights of the frigate...the 31st it continued to be so dark that even during the day we could not see the frigate."⁵⁵ On that day the two vessels lost complete track of one another. By the 5 August, "The captain consulted us whether we should prosecute our discoveries... Yet notwithstanding [the lack of food and near end of sailing season] these and other objections, we continued unanimously of opinion to execute our orders."⁵⁶

The understatement of Mourelle's entry belies the officers' true intention. Hezeta and Perez's timidity in venturing farther north no doubt perturbed the Peruvian and his young pilot. They did not want to squander more of the royal treasury with another incomplete, futile voyage as well as not completing the viceroy's command of 65°N. Later in his life Mourelle confessed that he and Bodega deliberated over their course of action for three hours. Upon making their insubordinate decision, they "formulated the temerarious project of separating, and dying in their craft rather than returning without enlightenment."⁵⁷ Hezeta, unquestionably vexed over the situation, prayed for the safe

Columbia became the primary claim of American ownership of the Oregon Territory forty years later.

⁵⁵Mourelle, *Sonora*, p. 41. Taken from Mourelle's *Diario*.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*

⁵⁷Maria Pilar de San Pio, *Expediciones Españoles Del Siglo XVIII: El Paso de Noroeste* (Madrid: MAPRE, 1992), p. 136. The author has not come upon any evidence that could refute Bodega and Mourelle's trickery. Wagner offers, "Although of course they would not acknowledge that they had deserted the *Santiago*,

return of the *Sonora* at their rendezvous point in Monterey.

Regardless of intent the tiny schooner ventured north, deep into present-day Alaskan waters. {Color Map 2, p. 240} By 16 August, it had ascended to approximately 57°. Francisco Mourelle, stated in his journal on this day,

At noon on the 16th we saw land to the NW at the distance of six leagues, and it soon opened to the NE presenting considerable headlands and mountains, one of which was of an immense sight, being situated upon a projecting cape and of the most regular and beautiful from I had ever seen.... We named the mountain *St. Jacinto* and the cape *del Engaño*, both of which are situated in N. Lat. 57.2.⁵⁸

For anyone familiar with southeast Alaska, the description of this mountain gives a definite clue as to its identity: Mt. Edgecumbe (57°03'N) on Kruzof Island near Sitka. Its corresponding, *Cabo del Engaño*, is Cape Edgecumbe (56°59'45''N) on the southern tip of the island. To the east Bodega viewed a large bay which he named *Bahia de Susto*, present-day Sitka Sound (57°N).⁵⁹ The next day, the schooner spied a harbor,

On the 17th the wind blew moderate from the S by means of which we entered a bay that was three leagues wide at its mouth, and which was protected from the N. by cape del Engaño, on the opposite side to this cape we discovered a port more than a league wide at the entrance, perfectly secure from all winds but the S. this port is situated in 57.11N And 34.12.W longitude from San Blas; which, together with the headland, we named *Guadalupe*.⁶⁰

this is probably what took place." *Cartography*, p. 176.

⁵⁸Mourelle, *Sonora*, p. 42. *San Jacinto* translates into "Saint Hyacinth" and *Cabo de Engano* into "Cape Deceit."

⁵⁹Wagner, *Cartography*, p. 176. Although extremely meticulous, Wagner made mistakes. No mention of Sitka Sound exists in Mourelle's journal, however, both Orth and Wagner do mention it. Orth retrieved much of his information from Wagner, so in either case, your author is placing faith on Bodega's journal as the source of this old toponym. *Bahia de Susto* roughly translates into "Bay of Terror."

⁶⁰Mourelle, *Sonora*, p. 43.

This bay appears to be Port Mary in Shelikov Bay (57°08'N) on the western side of Kruzof Island.⁶¹ The following day they sighted a small harbor protecting ten natives and their huts. Needing fresh water, Bodega decided to land, despite the occurrence at Martyr's Cove. With five men, he erected a cross, unfurled the Spanish flag, and carved a cross into a nearby tree for visible proof of a Spanish visit. He named this harbor *Puerto de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*, or as it is known today, Sea Lion Cove (57°18'N) on the northwest coast of Kruzof Island.⁶²

Due to cold weather, a fatigued crew, and most importantly, a dogged northeast wind, the *Sonora* turned south along the shore to catch sight of Fonte's Strait, reputed to stand at 53°N. {Color Map 3, p. 241}. As Mourelle states, "On the 24th at 2 in the evening and being in 55. 17'N Lat. we doubled a cape and entered into a large bay....He [Bodega] directed me to take possession for his Majesty of this part of the coast, and name it *Bucarely* [sic]."⁶³ *Bucareli Bay* (55°13'N) is perhaps the most commodious and convenient of all harbors on the Northwest Pacific coast. With its calm waters, lack of

⁶¹Wagner, *Cartography*, 460. Orth, *Dictionary*, p. 863. The possession site of *Remedios* obscures *Guadalupe* in scholars' eyes. Only the foregoing authors mention the exact location of port, with Wagner not even mentioning it in his text, only in his appendix. By its description in Mourelle's journal, Wagner's location seems to be correct.

⁶²Mourelle, *Sonora*, p. 44. According to Wagner past scholars have mistakenly identified *Remedios* at Salisbury Sound between Chichagof, Baranof, and Kruzof Islands. He insists that they are incorrect, and that Sea Lion Cove is the correct location..

⁶³*Ibid.*, p. 49. *La Bahia de Bucareli* was named after the Viceroy of New Spain Antonio Bucareli.

wind, deep depth, and apparent restorative powers arising “from some large volcanoes,”⁶⁴ the crew of the *Sonora* convalesced back to health. They took possession once again and took on fresh water. By 25 August Bodega and his men sailed out of the bay, destined to return four years later to meticulously map it.

From there, they made a cursory investigation of the apocryphal Fonte’s Strait. Mourelle stated in his journal that they scrutinized every cape, inlet, and sound in the 54° area looking for the western entrance of the strait, Rio de Reyes. Confidently, he stated “we may safely pronounce that no such passage is to be found.”⁶⁵ Unfortunately, according to Fonte’s account the entrance was located at 53° not 54°. Only seventeen years later would a Spanish explorer investigate the 53° area.

From here the two Bucareli expeditions viewed the same landmarks, yet to illustrate Perez’s glaring incompetence in 1774, they received different names. On their way out of *Bucareli Bay*, they passed by Perez’s *San Christina Island* and *Punta de Santa Magdalena* but named them *Isla de San Carlos* (Forrester Island, 54°48’N) and *Cabo de San Augustine* (*Cape Muzon* 54°39’50’’N) respectively.⁶⁶ Since Perez had not produced any maps of the area, Bodega assumed this was the large entrance Perez mentioned in his

⁶⁴Ibid. Mourelle repeatedly mentions volcanoes warming the waters in the bay and restoring the crew’s health. However, no volcanoes exist in the Prince of Wales area.

⁶⁵Greenhowe, *Oregon*, p. 122.

⁶⁶Mourelle, *Sonora*, p. 50. Wagner’s, *Cartography*, p. 177, confirms the overlapping. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Alaska, 1730-1885* (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft & Company, 1884), p. 201. Bancroft

journal. In honor, he named it *Entrada de Perez*, today's Dixon Entrance. From here, the wind picked up nicely from the southeast, and once again the indefatigable Bodega strove for 65°N.

The Spaniards sailed past their previous high latitude. The auspicious southeast wind carried the *Sonora* north to the vicinity of Cross Sound (58°03'N) and Yacobi Island, at the northern end of the Alexander Archipelago. From there they encountered a fierce storm for a few days, only to find they had descended to 54°54'N upon their next reckoning.⁶⁷ At this point, all crewmembers suffered from scurvy, the most serious being that of Bodega and his pilot. The situation became bleak. "Our captain endeavored to cheer those who were sick, but we could only prevail upon two of them who were recovering to assist us during the day; as for the master's mate, we conceived that he would die."⁶⁸ Despite his pride and unending desire to complete his orders, Bodega decided to turn back.⁶⁹

curiously states that Bodega named Forrester Island, *Isla de San Blas*. He is the only author to feature that toponym.

⁶⁷Orth, *Dictionary*, p. 201. Sometime during the voyage the officers gave Chatham Strait the name, *Ensenada de Principe*, meaning "Prince Cove" or "Teacher of the Prince" depending on translation. It is unclear when this occurred.

⁶⁸Mourelle, *Sonora*, p. 52.

⁶⁹Despite the infirmities and bad condition of the schooner, Bodega vowed to hug the coast as tightly as possible on his return to Monterey. At 49° he came within a mile of Juan de Fuca Strait, but did not pursue it. By 21 September, responsibility to his crew obliged him to take the most direct route to the aforementioned Spanish bastion. He did, however, search for the "Rio de Martin Aguilar" at 42° but did not find it. At 38°18'N, near San Francisco Bay, he named a bay Bodega, before entering Monterey harbor on 7 October 1775. Both Mourelle and he had to be carried off the boat.

After rehabilitation in Monterey, the *Santiago* and *Sonora* sailed back to San Blas, unfortunately en

Carlos III and Viceroy Bucareli viewed the *Sonora* expedition as an unmitigated success.⁷⁰ With a crew no larger than seventeen, ten of whom were Mexican farmhands, the tiny schooner ventured farther north than anyone except Vitus Bering.⁷¹ The *Sonora* claimed possession on Alaskan land twice: *Remedios*, and *Bucareli Bay*. The excellent mapmaking of Mourelle and Bodega truly made this expedition a success, for unlike their predecessor, they made painstaking maps and plans of the entire region and commented in their journals on the flora, fauna, and natives of the area. The Minister of the Indies, Galvez, gave Hezeta and Bodega a promotion in rank to *captain de fragata* and *teniente de navio*, respectively.

With the return of the frigate *Santiago* and the schooner *Sonora*, the Bucareli Expeditions ended. As mentioned above, the two overall voyages could be lauded for an extensive list of accomplishments: the sighting of the Columbia River, the anchorage in Nootka Sound, the discovery of Bucareli Bay, four acts of possession, and most importantly, no appearance of Russian settlements seventeen degrees north of San

route, the second officer of the *Santiago* perished. Juan Perez, the beleaguered ensign, simply could not tolerate the rigors of two successive voyages. Perhaps his heart broke when he learned of the success of the *Sonora*, for he knew that Bodega did much with little. The Peruvian exhibited the courage and perseverance Perez so sorely lacked. Regardless, Hezeta gave Perez a hero's funeral, no doubt out of respect not for Perez himself, but for the first man to brave these waters for Mother Spain.

⁷⁰Ayala with the packetboat *San Carlos* succeeded in becoming the first European to sail through the Golden Gate and claiming its prize of San Francisco harbor. He meticulously charted the entire bay up to the San Joaquin River.

⁷¹Lucille McDonald and Zola Ross, *For Glory and the King* (New York: Meredith Press, 1969), pp. 3-7. Sailors kidnapped Indian youth to fill the ships with enough hands. Rumor has that the only healthy sailor left on the *Sonora* for its return was an peasant child who single-handedly sailed the schooner back to San Blas.

Francisco. But with a little more luck, perseverance, and hindsight, the Spanish could have entered and charted the Juan de Fuca Strait, the Columbia River, and Nootka Sound three areas which would have exponentially added legitimacy to their claims of exclusivity in the upcoming year. Bucareli believed his sailors' accomplishments solidified and finalized Spanish claims to the coast. Unfortunately he fell into a dangerous state of complacency.

The royal treasury gained no tangible benefits from these expeditions. The government expended approximately 15,455 and 36,740 pesos respectively, with no fantastic discovery of a transcontinental passageway nor advanced sedentary civilizations, just promising rivers, inlets, and openings. Regardless, Carlos III approved for another expedition to the Northwest Coast tentatively scheduled for 1777. Due to shortages of personnel and ships at the Naval Department of San Blas, coupled with complacency that no foreign enemies could encroach upon Spanish claims anywhere on the Pacific coast, the voyage did not embark until 1779. With hindsight, that was one year too late.

Chapter III

How Spain Became 'Cook'ed

Preparations and Postponements, 1775-1779

Upon the completion of the Second Bucareli Expedition, the viceroy and Minister of the Indies began plans for a third expedition. Bucareli sent all the diaries of the voyage to Galvez, who received them in February 1776. Naturally, Carlos and his ministers lauded Bodega for his perseverance and dedication, and instantly slated him as one of the commanders for the upcoming expedition. In a letter dated 20 May 1776, Galvez told Bucareli that Carlos approved the viceroy's request to immediately launch a third expedition, scheduled for 1777.⁷² Given their heroism, the Bourbon wanted the same officers as the last expedition.

The increasing demands of the California settlements impeded a comprehensive charting of the Pacific Northwest. With the addition of settlers from the Anza expedition of 1775, the missions and settlements of California needed even more supplies than ever before. As with its primary intention the Department of San Blas was the purveyor of goods to these settlement. The government always maintained that the needs of the missions superceded any future voyages up the coast; the proselytizing and colonizing of California was of prime importance to Spain. If a surplus of vessels existed at a given time

⁷²Thurman, *San Blas*, pp. 164-165. Although the third expedition occurred during Bucareli's

when the missions did not need to be supplied, then voyages to Alaska became more possible.

Despite the officers' ardent requests of quickly mounting another expedition, the Department of San Blas's dearth of ocean-going vessels prevented it. In terms of large vessels, the department only boasted the packetboats *San Carlos* and *Principe*, and the frigate *Santiago*. For shorter voyages to Baja California the schooners *Sonora* and *Concepcion* could be utilized. At any given time, the vessels were either en route to the missions or in repair.

Moreover, San Blas's reputation as an unforgiving abyss of disease and putrescence failed to attract many young, fervent military and civilian personnel. The disease, climate, and mosquitoes enervated any man of vigor and even after eight years, the amenities at the site were practically non-existent. Mexico City had a difficult time finding a full complement of officers and sailors to man the ships. This lack of skilled sailors no doubt hurt the department.

Furthermore, the question over the future of San Blas hampered any progress for a third voyage. The silting of the San Blas harbor became a serious obstacle to the navigators. Some officers suggested moving the department to spacious Acapulco; others deemed such a move as a waste for all the money spent on improving San Blas. Bucareli

lifetime, it is strangely not classified as a Bucareli Expedition.

suggested moving the Naval Department for Alta California and future Pacific explorations to San Francisco. Such a suggestion seems foolish, for they already had logistical problems using San Blas. The squabbling ended upon issuance of an edict from the Spanish government stating that if Russian settlements were found close to Spanish land, the facility would be moved to a better harbor.⁷³

Yet another problem hampering Galvez from implementing his grand scheme on the Northwest Coast was his own brainchild: The General Commandancy of the Interior Provinces. A royal order in 1776 created Galvez's governing unit comprised of all lands from Louisiana to California, completely autonomous from New Spain. Despite California being in this new province, Viceroy Bucareli and New Spain still controlled the naval activity in San Blas. Bureaucratic and logistical nightmares followed as a result of this division of jurisdiction.

Upon review of the following problems, Bucareli knew that an expedition in 1777 seemed infeasible. Thus Bucareli called a junta with all the San Blas officers in November 1776 to discuss these matters. The main issue was whether or not San Blas could simultaneously supply the California missions and launch exploratory voyages north. Despite the innate desire to discover new lands, the officers surprisingly decided that it was impossible to accomplish both. Given the scarcity of vessels and supplies in San Blas,

⁷³Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 93. This question of abandonment hampered the efficiency of the department

it behooved them to place California ahead of future explorations.⁷⁴ Armed with their decision, on 7 December 1776, Viceroy Bucareli canceled the proposed 1777 expedition. Galvez angrily demanded that plans stay on schedule regardless of the officers' wishes.

By early 1778 personnel and vessels finally came into place. Bodega returned from Peru in the frigate *Favorita*. Unbeknownst to the Peruvian, the department constructed another frigate named the *Princesa*.⁷⁵ Bucareli designated Ignacio de Arteaga, a newcomer to San Blas though a higher rank than the remainder of the officers, as head of the following expedition, while Bruno de Hezeta, commander of the *Santiago* in 1775, became Commandant of San Blas.⁷⁶ During the winter, Mourelle, Bodega, and Arteaga collated maps and charts and discussed their course of action for the upcoming voyage. The delay proved to be disastrous.

Meanwhile Spain attempted futilely to thwart James Cook's pending voyage to the Pacific Northwest. As the author has shown, England's voracity for natural resources propelled the island nation into encroaching upon the jurisdiction of friendly and inimical neighbors alike. Spain already dealt with illegal British logging practices in the Caribbean

up until its demise in 1810.

⁷⁴Thurman, *San Blas*, pp. 167-168. It seems odd that the officers of the 1775 voyage would vote against continuing their explorations. Perhaps their decision was borne out of expediency than true desire.

⁷⁵Wagner, *Cartography*, p. 192. Bodega extolled the speed of the *Favorita*, alias *Nuestra Señora del Remedios*. With him he brought pilots Juan de Pantoja and Jose Tovar y Tamariz. The *Princesa*'s alias was *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*.

⁷⁶Thurman, *San Blas*, p. 173. Arriving in San Blas in 1775, he petitioned to lead the next voyage. During the interval he commanded the *Santiago* to California.

and subsequent sacking of vessels for over two centuries. It did not want to see English vessels depleting and purloining Spain's commodities on the eastern Pacific since it was Spain's last relatively unscathed realm. Galvez wanted to ensure that Cook's voyage would not usher in a deluge of British traders, as seen in the Caribbean.

As the *Resolution* and *Discovery* departed Plymouth in July 1776, Galvez sent instructions to the viceroy as to how to deal with Cook. He instructed Bucareli to take precautionary measures by notifying all the Spanish ports on the Pacific of Cook's pending arrival.⁷⁷ In addition to not supplying aid to Cook's beleaguered vessels, he ordered them to thwart the Englishman in every way possible, with the exception of force. In essence, the Andalucian wanted to detain the vessels and choke them with bureaucratic red tape until a lengthy investigation and protest could ensue. This would give San Blas sufficient time to reach the emerging coast before Cook. At the time of this letter, Galvez assumed the third expedition would depart in 1777; he later discovered the viceroy's cancellation of the expedition for that year.⁷⁸

All the preparation was for naught. Throughout his entire voyage Cook never

⁷⁷Elizabeth Nelson Patrick, *The Salvador Fidalgo Expedition, 1790: The Last Spanish Exploration of the Far North Pacific Ocean* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1981), p. 135. Royal order summarized in Bucareli's letter to Galvez, Mexico City, 26 June 1776.

⁷⁸Aside from the problems in San Blas, Viceroy Bucareli must be given much of the blame for the five-year interval. Galvez's vision and dynamism provided the framework for Spanish domination of the eastern Pacific, but Bucareli did not have scope to execute the orders that would have guaranteed it. As author Elizabeth Patrick adds, "The delays caused by Bucareli's close fisted fiscal policy, recalcitrance in following orders for getting an expedition underway, and his failure to understand the real impact of Cook's voyage

stopped in any Spanish port, nor came close to one. In fact, the Spanish government had no clue as to his whereabouts. It would have mattered little due to the postponement of the next Spanish expedition.

Cook in Alaska-1778

Spain's two expeditions on the Pacific coast directly led to England's resumption of its pursuit of a transcontinental passageway. The British had known of Bering and Chirikov's voyages for twenty-five years, yet had not felt compelled to investigate the area at that time. Upon learning of Bucareli's voyages, the British, being the supreme naval power in the world, felt scorned that such an area of the world was only privy to Russia and Spain. If anything, British pride drove Cook and his later cohorts to the area.

For over thirty years, an incentive by the British government had not produced the location of the said passage. Parliament in 1745 offered a 20,000£ reward to the merchant crew able to locate the passage. In 1775, the Royal Society of Great Britain pressured the government into broadening its original offer. Now King George III offered 20,000£ to the captain who could locate the strait above 52°, and 5,000£ to the crew. Parliament now allowed navy vessels to reap this reward as well.⁷⁹ Naturally, the government hoped that the enlarging of the reward and its participants would increase the likelihood of

contributed in no small way to the eventual loss of Spanish claim to the Northwest Coast." p. 118.

⁷⁹Barry M. Gough, *Distant Dominion: Britain and the Northwest Coast of North America, 1579-1809* (Vancouver & London: University of British Columbia, 1980), p. 21.

finding the passage.

The British Admiralty ordered James Cook, well acquainted with the Pacific, to investigate the area. His instructions offer a window to England's knowledge of Spanish activity in the area. Vis-à-vis the Northwest Coast, the Admiralty directed him to:

- ❖ Begin exploration of the coast at 45°N.
- ❖ Not interfere with Spanish claims in the area, and to take possession only in areas not inhabited by European powers.⁸⁰
- ❖ Ascend to 65°N or farther if not obstructed by ice. Search all inlets, fjords or bays north of 65°N and chart them if they seem likely to be the passage.⁸¹

The government likely directed Cook not to claim any land south of 45° in deference to the Spanish, who they believed already had claimed much of the land south of that latitude. Why would they think such a thing?

Cook's experiences in the *Resolution* and *Discovery* south of 54°40'N are not pertinent here.⁸² Cook sighted land at the opening of Chatham Strait near Bodega's *San*

⁸⁰The question arises as to why Cook was ordered to touch land at 45°? Two reasons exist for such a precise latitude. Primarily, the British government held on to their tenuous claim of Drake's *New Albion*, which they saw as ending at 45°. If Cook resumed charting the coast at that latitude, the island nation could lay claim to all lands north as well. Also, the British government probably believed that 45° was the northern border of discernible Spanish sovereignty.

⁸¹V.L. Denton, *The Far West Coast* (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1924), p. 104.

⁸²Cook anchored in Perez's San Lorenzo, possibly today's Nootka Sound. There the crew purchased some 1,500 skins while their captain bartered for some European spoons. Afterwards he deduced from these items that the Spanish had been at the harbor before. Although not mentioned in Perez's journal, these spoons reportedly belonged to his second officer Martinez, who later asserted the natives had stole them from him. Wagner suggests the spoons could have been brought north to Nootka through the extensive trading network of the Coast Indians.

Incidentally, Cook's crew served as a veritable dictionary of Alaska explorers. Aboard the vessels

Jacinto Mountain at 57°. {Color Map 4, p. 242} Instead Cook named the mountain and cape, Edgecumbe, the first of many Spanish toponym erasures. He superficially searched for Fonte's Strait though he stated he would "give no credit to such vague and improbable stories."⁸³ He proceeded to name Cross Sound, separating the Alexander Archipelago from the mainland; Mt. Fairweather, and Dry Bay.⁸⁴ Upon noticing the westward curve of the land, the famed explorer named Cape Suckling and the island directly south of it, Kaye's Island, Bering's Kayak Island.

Repairs to the *Resolution* led him into a labyrinthine waterway west of the Copper River. He noticed a large opening west of a cape he named Hinchinbrook and proceeded to anchor there. The island in which the cape was located he named Hinchinbrook as well, while the island to the west of the opening he named Montague.⁸⁵ Cook pushed north to find a more suitable anchorage at "Snug Corner Cove," likely in Fidalgo Arm. On 19 May he departed Prince William Sound, soon to be a veritable trading emporium for much of his crew.

Unlike the previous Spanish expeditions, which arrived in Alaska by midsummer, Cook skillfully reached the mainland by late spring, thus allowing him more time to chart

serving in various capacities were George Vancouver, Joseph Billings, George Dixon, and Nathaniel Portlock. All later returned to the North Pacific to lead their own expeditions.

⁸³Gough, *Dominion*, p. 39. Taken from Beaglehole. *Cook's Journals*, 3: part 1, p. 335.

⁸⁴Wagner, *Cartography*, p. 186.

⁸⁵Lethcoe, *Prince William*, pp. 4,9. Hinchinbrook Island was named after Viscount Hinchinbrook, the father of his benefactor, John Montague of Sandwich. Cook originally named the entire sound, Sandwich, but

the area. After departing the sound from which he is given credit for discovering, Cook sighted and named Elizabeth Island, off the southern coast of the Kenai Peninsula. What sets this landmark aside from the numerous others was that Elizabeth Island in the following year would be the setting of Arteaga's claim of possession. The Englishman proceeded to sail up the inlet that bears his name to take his first act of possession at 61°N in his appropriately named Turnagain Arm.⁸⁶

Cook continued his pioneering voyage. He sailed out of Cook Inlet and passed by the Afognak and Trinity Islands surrounding Kodiak Island. The long Alaskan Peninsula impeded Cook's progress to the north though. He sighted Pankof Island, Sanak Island, which he named Halibut, and Shishaldin Volcano on Unimak Island. The two vessels anchored off the north coast of Unalaska Island prior to embarking on their push through the sea that he named in honor of Vitus Bering.⁸⁷

Only after Cook's death did the crew realize the bounty of their incidental

later editors of Cook's maps named it after King George's son, the future King William IV.

⁸⁶Wagner, *Cartography*, p.187.

⁸⁷Ironically Cook accomplished Bering's 1728 task, that is conclusively noting the separation of the two continent. In fact, Cook sailed up the Chukchi Sea to Icy Cape at roughly 70°N on the Alaskan coast. By October he returned to Unalaska, this time to speak with the Russian fur agent, Izmailov. The two freely exchanged information; Izmailov showed Cook some impressive maps of the area, far better than Cook's and stated that the Russians had not penetrated farther than Kodiak Island. Cook alerted Izmailov to the ample amount of furs at Nootka; this no doubt pleased the Russian fur trader, since much of the Aleutians had been stripped of their sea otters. In return Ismailov ensured him that Unalaska, comprised of thirty Russians, was the only Russian settlement in the New World. From his generous exchange of information, one could surmise that Great Britain was not in direct competition with Russia but rather Spain. Cook felt no compunction in sharing information with Ismailov. On 26 October Cook departed Unalaska en route to what Cook believed to be a favorable wintering location: Hawaii.

purchase of 1,500 skins at Nootka. Upon arriving in Macao they saw the exorbitant prices these furs fetched in the Chinese market, some one hundred times the amount they spent at Nootka. Like the Russians, the British now became acutely aware of the benefits of engaging in the fur trade.

James Cook's voyage to the North Pacific set off a chain reaction unprecedented in maritime history. His voyage completed many outstanding tasks, such as:

- ❖ Reestablishing Great Britain's claim on the Northwest Coast.
- ❖ Exposing a part of the world until then filled by speculative geography; now 45°-70°N had a discernible outline.
- ❖ Showing the Chinese demand for sea otters and thus launching a new "fur rush."

The latter would bring about the ultimate downfall of Spain's claim to the Northwest Coast, for it is no coincidence that many of the sailors on the *Resolution* and *Discovery* returned to the Pacific Northwest as leaders of their own expeditions. They did not likely return for the region's warm climate and friendly natives, but rather to procure sea otter pelts to sell in Macao for outrageous prices. Unlike previous voyages, ostensibly under the guise of scientific knowledge and self-enlightenment, the subsequent deluge of British merchants plied the waters to simply make a fantastic profit. Indirectly, they did serve a useful purpose by charting much of the area.

Cook owes much of his success to Francisco Mourelle's journal of the 1775 voyage. The British commander even acknowledges the Spanish pilot's journal as being a

prime contributory to his knowledge of the coast. The journal likely reached Madrid in February 1776, and there was copied by some unscrupulous people, for in no way would the Spanish government have willingly exported it. Even reports of Spanish activity on the coast appeared in British newspapers in the spring of 1776, highlighting the exploits of Bodega and Hezeta.⁸⁸ This explains why Cook had not bothered taking possession of anything prior to Cook Inlet; he knew from the journals how far north the Spanish had penetrated.

Despite the machinations and allegations concerning Mourelle's journal, the success of the *Resolution* and *Discovery* rests solely on the shoulders of James Cook and his crew. For the Spanish who had trouble maintaining an expedition for four months, Cook's testament to longevity on the seas of four years is truly remarkable. The voyage became the then longest maritime expedition ever undertaken. He did what would take the Spanish at least four expeditions to accomplish; even more impressive, the Spanish never penetrated past Unalaska into the treacherous waters of the Bering and Chukchi Seas. Cook's crew did it twice!

Cook's journal, published in 1784, effectively laid the way for a multi-national penetration of the area and irreversibly undermined Spain's 200-year dominance of their "Spanish Lake." With the shadowy outline of the Pacific eastern littoral sketched out in

⁸⁸Cook, *Flood Tide*, pp. 85-86. It is no coincidence that an Englishman, Daines Barrington, later

place of amorphous, apocryphal landmasses, merchants quickly dashed to the area. As a sound juxtaposition to the Spanish, the English swiftly published Cook's journal; the Spanish only acknowledged their activity in the area after diplomatic intrigue forced their hand.

published Mourelle's journal in 1781. He hoped that it would stimulate the interest of British merchants.

Chapter IV

The Hunt for Cook: Arteaga in Alaska, 1779

Cook had no inkling he was Spain's object of pursuit. As stated, due to shortages at San Blas and the narrow-mindedness of Viceroy Bucareli, the third Spanish expedition beyond California stalled for two years, from its intended sailing in 1777 to 1779. Such a postponement dramatically jeopardized Spanish claims; for if they could have launched the expedition in 1778 and encountered Cook in Alaska, perhaps then the Spanish could have notified him of their presence and exaggerated their penetration into the area. At least then the British government would possess tangible eyewitness proof.

During the winter of 1778-79, the officers of the upcoming expedition planned their course of action and prepared maps and charts for the pending voyage. At their disposal were Delisle's map of 1752, Bellin's map of 1755, and a Russian map of 1758.⁸⁹ Although they provided assistance to a certain extent, all the maps were over twenty years old and obviously did not contain the findings of Cook. Mourelle and Bodega drew up a map during this time delimiting the Pacific shoreline from their findings four years earlier. The resourceful Spaniards superimposed the various other maps' coastlines on top of theirs—Delisle's in black dots, Bellin's in red, and the Russian in yellow—so they could

⁸⁹Patrick, *Fidalgo*, p. 139.

properly approximate the true littoral during their reconnaissance.⁹⁰ This, no doubt, assisted their exploits on the sea.

Moreover, Arteaga and Bodega, upon perusal of said map, agreed that Bering followed the coast west after Cape St. Elias through the Aleutians, and that it seemed unlikely that a penetration beyond 60° could be made except through navigation of this long archipelago. The commanders made a hasty irresponsible decision to not go north of the Aleutian chain.⁹¹ If true, agreeing to such a decision is odd, for the main objective of the voyage was to ascend to 70°N, which they understood from their maps could not be reached without penetrating the Aleutians.

The Naval Department of San Blas decided to use their two newest vessels for the voyage to Alaska and equipped it with sufficient weaponry to decimate Cook's vessels out at sea, if the situation necessitated such an action. As the officer with the highest rank, Ignacio Arteaga took command of the frigate, *Princesa*, with Fernando Quiros as his second. The pilots included Jose Camacho and Juan Pantoja with a crew totaling ninety-eight persons. It seems strange that the viceregal government did not give Bodega command of the entire expedition, given his laudable actions in 1775.

Bodega's *Favorita*, constructed in Peru, weighed one hundred forty-three tons,

⁹⁰Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 94.

⁹¹Wagner, *Cartography*, p. 192. This assumption by Wagner is solely conjecture on his part. As far as the author knows, no proof exists as to this decision not to sail west of Cook Inlet. It seems quite odd that

and had the gifted Francisco Mourelle as its second-in-command, and Jose Canizares and Juan Bautista Aguirre as pilots. The crew totaled 107 men. The frigates possessed a combined fourteen cannons and fifteen swivel guns, with adequate gunpowder, cannonballs, and other weaponry for the task. In truth, San Blas classified thirty-nine of the crew as artillerymen. The department provisioned the vessels with twelve to fifteen months' supply of food. Perhaps they attempted to replicate Cook's longevity on the sea, though Bucareli's order that they return by Christmas contradicts that idea. By far these were the best-equipped, most fitted vessels among the three expeditions.

As more information about the area seeped into Madrid from various sources, the latitude expected to be reached rose steadily for each Spanish expedition. For Perez it was 60°N; for Hezeta, 65°N, and now for Arteaga it was 70°N.⁹² A communication breakdown must have occurred between San Blas and the government in Mexico City, for the former knew that to reach such a latitude the Aleutian advance must be done, even though all the officers already had agreed not to approach them. Even then the navigators were unsure of the direction of the coastline. Mourelle waxed perplexed in his diary, "Some have the coast after 62°N heading southwest, others have it toward the west, while others toward the northwest."⁹³ Nevertheless, Bucareli ordered that 70° be reached

the audacious Bodega would consent to such a idea.

⁹²Thurman, *San Blas*, p. 172.

⁹³Pilar de San Pio, *Expediciones*, p. 142.

at all costs. James Cook was not mentioned in the orders though the prevalence of cannons and muskets onboard obviated any need to explicitly mention him.

Prior to departing San Blas on 11 February 1779, the officers decided not to touch land until *Bucaleli Bay*. They could achieve this by sailing out into sea due west until they could catch the prevailing westerlies. After many years of combating the cold California Current, the Spanish sailors got wise to this notion, for every subsequent expedition employed the same tactic. The Manila galleons, in operation for two hundred years, used these same currents to speed their way to Mexico.

After a storm separated them, the *Favorita* and *Princesa* reached the entrance to *Bucaleli Bay* on 3 May. They anchored in one of its outer ports, *Puerto de Santa Cruz*, and remained there until 15 June. For an entire month, the Spanish surveyed the bay to the best of their abilities. On 13 May a grand procession occurred culminating in the erection of a cross on a nearby hill.⁹⁴ The rite of possession had already occurred by Bodega in 1775 so Arteaga did not repeat it here. Five days later two launches, commanded by Mourelle, and comprised of pilots, Pantoja, Aguirre, and Camacho departed the anchored vessels to chart the bay, which appeared each day to be more intricate than originally anticipated. For the remainder of the time, the rest of the crew collected fresh water and wood, tended to the vessels, and undertook other various

⁹⁴Wagner, *Cartography*, p. 192.

chores.

While in the bay, a mysterious epidemic attacked the crew resulting in the death of several men. Arteaga himself fell ill. Upon the behest of the *Favorita*'s surgeon, Don Mariano Nuñez de Esquivel, the crew constructed barracks onshore to thwart the advance of the disease. At this time, relations with the natives were good, so the sick men felt little apprehension convalescing onshore. In fact the natives brought fresh fish to the sick men every day. It is said that this sickness spread to the natives in the area and in fact decimated their population. Years later, elder natives related this story to British and Russian hunters in the area with the highpoint being that the Spanish gave it to them. No definitive evidence exists to support or deny this assertion.⁹⁵

As stated, the two parties maintained an amiable relationship with one another in the first few weeks. Upon arrival, the natives performed solemn peace rituals on top of a promontory, welcoming the Spaniards with cascading feathers. As is typical of these encounters, the Westerners gave the natives cheap trinkets and beads in return for woven mats and a variety of skins. All seemed well despite the random incidence of theft by the natives.

However, the sentiment of amicableness soon degenerated into tense vigilance. Various incidents heightened tensions between the two groups. A foolish Spaniard

⁹⁵Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 95. Scholars propound that perhaps Bodega's 1775 stop in Remedios Port

decided to bathe alone, and for this he paid, for the natives stripped and robbed him of all he owned, but let him go uninjured. After Mourelle and his party left the anchorage, one hundred canoes hovered near the frigates for days, simply eyeing them. Many sailors worried about the safety of the pilots, for each day the natives became more hostile.

Mourelle and his cohorts finally returned, but afterwards, relations substantially deteriorated. A group of sailors went bathing, yet upon their return to the vessels, two of them were found to be missing. Arteaga ordered his sailors to seize some natives in a nearby canoe to use as hostages, a customary practice of the time. The following morning, the Spaniards saw one of their missing men hiding in a canoe; upon discovery, this Spaniard endeavored to paddle to the frigates, but the natives thwarted him and hauled him back to the village. After the unnecessary use of a cannonshot, which killed two natives, and unceasing negotiations with the chief, the natives released the Spanish sailors. The Spanish in turn reciprocated.

To Arteaga's surprise, all of the commotion was for naught, for the two Spanish sailors had not been kidnapped but instead had asked to be taken to the village. Only there did they realize the stupidity of their request, for the natives allegedly subjected them to numerous horrors. As a punishment for endangering the entire crew and voyage and for concocting such a ruse, Arteaga gave them one hundred lashes each. The natives later

brought the epidemic to the natives. However in that case no interaction occurred between the two groups.

appeared offering five children as a gift. Arteaga accepted them out of compassion for the children, for he felt the natives would eat or sacrifice them had not the Spanish accepted them as a gift.⁹⁶ On 11 June, to the horror of the Spaniards and in apparent defiance to them, the natives demolished the cross erected on 13 May to scavenge for iron nails. It seemed to be a fitting dénouement to all that had occurred there.

Meanwhile, Mourelle, Pantoja, Aguirre, and Camacho meticulously explored the inner reaches of *Bucareli Bay*. Arteaga stated on 18 May, "The longboats of the frigates having finished the principal tasks assigned to them, that is, [retrieving] the ballast and the water which we needed, I decided that they should go out well armed for war, and provisions for 18 days, to explore the whole of *Bucareli Sound*."⁹⁷ In total, the pilots plied the still waters of *Bucareli Bay* for four weeks.⁹⁸ Such an amount of time indicates the complexity of the bay and its many inlets. Mourelle noted various outlets to the sea, and inlets penetrating the interior for miles. Given the enormity of their work, time forced the pilots to give only a cursory outline of the bay. Even so, Mourelle's chart of the bay is superb considering the time allotment. {Color Map 5, p. 243 }

⁹⁶Cook offers much insight into these incidences with the natives in his *Flood Tide*, pp. 94-97. It is unclear what happened to these children, three boys and two girls, upon disembarkation in Mexico. As mentioned in Cook's footnotes, the three youngest were baptized in San Francisco while the other two underwent the same ceremony in San Blas. After that they disappeared.

⁹⁷Ignacio de Arteaga, *Spain Claims Alaska*, trans. by Katrina Moore (Fairbanks: University of Alaska, 1972), p. 50.

⁹⁸From the launching of the boats on 18 May, Arteaga's diary makes no note of the consequent discoveries in *La Bahia de Bucareli*. Since the author does not possess Mourelle's diary, he will depend on

The remnants of Mourelle's charting may be seen today. He surveyed Cabo de Bartolomé (S tip of Baker Is.) and Cabo de Felix (SW tip of Suemez I.). From there they anchored in Puerto de San Antonio, Puerto de la Asuncion, Puerto de Mayoral, and later sailed between Isla San Ignacio and the tiny Isla Santa Rita to reach Puerto de la Real Armada⁹⁹. After resting, they sailed through the Canal de Portillo between La Isla de San Fernando and Lulu Island to arrive at El Golfo de Esquivel. Mourelle found two inlets to the ocean that he called Bocas de Arriaga and Bocas de Almirante,¹⁰⁰ respectively.

On 24 May they turned south through La Canal de San Christoval between Isla San Fernando and Prince of Wales Island, anchored at the Caño de la Cruz, and later sailed through El Seño de San Alberto. They continued sailing on the east side of Isla San Fernando to Punto de Cuerdo and Punta de Amargura. On 30 May they sailed across to Isla San Juan Bautista and Puerto Bayeal. Throughout the early half of June they charted the Caños de Trocodero, Islas de Madre de Dios, Puerta de la Caldera, Puerto de Estrella, Puerto del Refugio (between Suemez Island and Prince of Wales Island), Puerto de los Dolores, and the Punta de la Arboleda. Mourelle and crew finally crossed back over to investigate Puerto Mayoral and Isla de San Ignacio, where they had been a

Wagner's *Cartography* and Pilar de Pio's *Exploraciones*.

⁹⁹Today Puerto de Real Armada is seen as Port Royal Marina.

¹⁰⁰It is likely that this is Bocas de Finas west of Esquibel Bay.

fortnight earlier, and then back to the *Favorita* and *Princesa* in the *Puerto de Santa Cruz*.¹⁰¹

Due to native hostility, Arteaga and Bodega left *La Bahia de Bucareli* on 1 July 1779. {Color Map 6, p. 244} They sailed north for two weeks until they could see the lofty peaks of Mt. St. Elias. As Mourelle describes,

At 8 o'clock four peaks came in sight, which had been covered with clouds; all very high, and especially the northernmost, which could be ranked among the most famous for its extraordinary height. These mountains, like all the land of the coast within our sight, are covered with snow, forming a view so beautiful, especially when the sun touches it with his rays, that I doubt if the world offers anything else which so pleases the sight.¹⁰²

Arteaga and crew named a prominent cape, *Cabo de St. Elias*. In fact it was not Cape St. Elias but in actuality was Cape Suckling (59°59'30''N). To the west of said cape lies Bering's Kayak Island (Cook's Kaye Island). Just to make it more difficult, the Spanish named the island *Isla de Carmen* (59°56'N). They proceeded west along the shore. Bodega was convinced a large river emptied into the sea between Kayak Island and Prince William Sound, but like his predecessors, Martinez, with the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and Hezeta, with the Columbia River, destiny bestowed Bodega's discovery of the Copper River upon someone else.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹Pilar de San Pio, *Exploraciones*, p. 145. Wagner, *Cartography*, pp. 192-193. Also many other Spanish toponyms exist in *La Bahia de Bucareli* and vicinity; however, the author had decided to only mention a few.

¹⁰²Arteaga, *Spain*, p. 82. Taken from *Diario* dated 15-16 July 1779.

¹⁰³Wagner states, "Bodega afterward alleged that he saw signs of some large river emptying there, and

Had the Spanish executed the expedition upon Galvez's behest in 1777, Arteaga and Bodega could have been the first Europeans to visit Prince William Sound. Four days after charting Kayak Island, under cloudy skies, they entered a large bay. Arteaga adds, "This day in the morning I determined to take first possession in this island, which was given the name *Santa Maria Magdalena*, within the harbor in which we are anchored, which I name *Santiago Apostol* (60°20'N)." ¹⁰⁴ The anchorage took place at Nuchek on Hinchinbrook Island, the same location as Cook's anchorage a year earlier.

Arteaga sent out the pilots Canizares and Pantoja to "make a brief exploration of this *Isla de la Magdalena* (60°23'N) and as much farther as they could." ¹⁰⁵ The pilots realized the insularity of the island though they believed that Hinchinbrook and Hawkins Island were one. In total, they traveled no more than twenty-seven miles, though to them that was far enough to ascertain the impassability of the entire sound. The high peaks of the Chugach Range, completely surrounding the sound, persuaded them of such a notion. Canizares did name the northernmost point of Hinchinbrook Island, Johnstone Point, *Cabo de Frio* (60°28'N). Arteaga's act of possession at Nuchek at 60°20'N was later the basis of claim to the entire Prince William Sound and Alaska region. ¹⁰⁶ Cook never took

something must have been seen because the names appear on contemporary maps." No such Spanish place names exist in the Copper River delta today, perhaps during Wagner's era in the 1930's but not now.

Cartography, p. 194. Bancroft, *Alaska*, p. 219.

¹⁰⁴Arteaga, *Spain*, p. 93. Taken from *Diario* dated 21-22 July 1779.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 93. Taken from *Diario* dated 21-22 July 1779.

¹⁰⁶Pilar de San Pio, *Expediciones*, p. 147.

formal possession the year before and neither, as evidence indicates, had the Russians.

The *Favorita* and *Princesa* departed the sound on 28 July 1779.

The expedition pushed westward to the southern tip of the Kenai Peninsula. The vessels encountered “wind...rising to a hurricane” off the coast.¹⁰⁷ Once the winds abated, on Elizabeth Island (59°10’N, 151°50’W), the same island Cook named a year earlier, Spain took possession again. Illness prevented Arteaga from performing the act; instead his second-in-command Quiros, and Bodega accomplished it. As Arteaga states, “At four I ordered the two longboats with my second, the captain of the *Favorita*, officers and chaplains, to take a second possession in the bay, to which was given the name of *Nuestra Señora de la Regla*.”¹⁰⁸ The act took place somewhere north of Elizabeth Island, which they named *San Aniceto*, near Port Chatham.¹⁰⁹

While anchored off of Elizabeth Island the ailing Arteaga made two decisions: the dispatch of Bodega, Mourelle, and Canizares to reconnoiter the area north of *San Aniceto* and the decision to return to California. The officers sighted Mt. Iliamna and Mt. Augustine on the west side of Cook Inlet, which they named *Volcan de Miranda* and *Pan de Azucar*, respectively. Upon return they discovered the insularity of *San Aniceto* and

¹⁰⁷Arteaga, *Spain*, p. 101. Taken from *Diario* dated 30-31 July 1779.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, p. 105. Taken from *Diario* dated 2-3 August 1779.

¹⁰⁹The existing map of this anchorage shows the Kenai Peninsula, though correct in its outline, as a group of islands to the north of *San Aniceto*. To the north, *Isla de Mourelle*, to the northeast, *Isla de San Bruno*, to the east, *Isla de Ayala*, and to the southeast, a few other tiny islands named *Sombrero*, *San Angel*, *de Arriaga*, *la Monja*, and *los Frailes*. None of these names appear in either captains’ journals, solely on the

that various islands filled the northern horizon.¹¹⁰

After returning, Bodega urged Arteaga to set a course southwest along the contour of the coast toward the Aleutians.¹¹¹ Like 1775, duty and loyalty to the king impelled Bodega to continue the expedition though he suffered from a myopic commander. The encounter must have felt like *déjà vu* for Bodega: attempting to persuade his commanding officer not to turn back, but much like Hezeta in 1775, he did not succeed in convincing Arteaga. Bodega and Mourelle wanted to continue westward, but Arteaga, worried about the lateness of the season and the prevalence of scurvy onboard, disagreed. Perhaps his sickness played a role in his faulty decision-making abilities. Arteaga did not even convene a junta to discuss the matter with his fellow officers; perhaps afraid they would concur with Bodega. At least on this occasion, Bodega complied and headed southward.

Upon making his decision on 7 August, the frigates headed south toward California. Arteaga encapsulated his reasons for a prompt return quite well in his journal,

Considering the climate, when thick weather prevails constantly, with continual storms without finding any opening to the north in order to attain 70° of Latitude; and finding ourselves at present with a large part of the crew sick, and becoming worse every day because of the continual cold rain and excessive cold, I have

map. Bancroft, *Alaska*, p. 220.

¹¹⁰Patrick, *Fidalgo*, p. 141. Incoming cloudy weather caused their incorrect assessment of many islands to the north. Pearl and East Chugach Islands are to the east, but only the large Kenai Peninsula looms north of Elizabeth Island.

¹¹¹Thurman, *San Blas*, p. 176.

decided to set a course for Cape Mendocino.¹¹²

Camacho, one of the pilots onboard named various islands in the area. He sighted St. Augustine Island, Marmot Island, and others off the Kodiak archipelago. He bestowed upon one of the islands south of Elizabeth Island the name of *Isla de Camacho*, which appears to be Afognak Island, the large one north of Kodiak Island. After separated by a storm, they called upon San Francisco on 14 September for the crew's rehabilitation. There they remained for six weeks, charting the expansive bay with the vessels' launches.

Two news events brought to end their joyous respite at San Francisco. A courier heralded the news of Viceroy Bucareli's death in Mexico City. Even worse, Spain had openly declared war on Great Britain. These two events, coupled with even more complacency fueled by yet another expedition revealing no trace of foreign penetration, irrevocably jeopardized the future of Spanish exploration in Alaska. Now Madrid would relegate such voyages to minor priority, superceded by the need to bolster colonial defenses on both sides of the American continent. For almost a decade, no Spaniard pierced 54°40'N. Only upon resumption of the Alaskan expeditions did the Spanish government realize its folly.

The Spanish expedition of 1779, as with the others, could be seen as both an

¹¹²Arteaga, *Spain*, p. 109. Taken from *Diario* of 7-8 August 1779. It seems odd that Arteaga would attribute his inability to find a passage as a primary reason for his retreat. All the officers knew ahead of time that the vessels would have to venture around the Aleutians to reach their stated goal of 70°.

accomplishment and failure. On the positive side, Arteaga took possession at the highest latitude to date for any Spanish explorer: 60°13'N, thus laying the basis of future claims to the area. The voyage also showed the inaccuracy of many of the officers' maps. By first hand account, Bodega viewed the coastline curve west and then southwest after Prince William Sound, just as he speculated prior to the expedition. For navigation and mapmaking, the expedition was an unquestionable success.

Unfortunately, Cook had accomplished the same feats as the *Favorita* and *Princesa* a year before, plus more. What the Spanish considered pioneering, the British now viewed as mundane. Had the voyage occurred prior to Cook's, history would have elevated it to legend, instead of relegating it to obscurity. Regardless, the two voyages followed a similar route. Both viewed Mt. St. Elias, Kayak Island, Nuchek Harbor in Prince William Sound, and Elizabeth Island. However, the *Resolution* and *Discovery* prevailed by exploring the entire Cook Inlet, the southern part of the Alaskan peninsula, Unalaska Island, the Bering Strait, all the way up to Icy Strait in the Chukchi Sea. The British persevered by penetrating the Bering Strait, not once, but twice: once even after the assuredly traumatic murder of their charismatic leader. They had to sail across the entire Pacific to find a friendly port in Asia, and even more to return home; the Spanish only had to sail down the California coast. No doubt when comparing the two voyages, the Spanish achievement must take second place.

Furthermore, the British met with Russian officials whereas the Spanish did not.

Cook intentionally sailed to Unalaska to gather intelligence on the area; Arteaga, with a little more perseverance, could have easily sailed there as well, if not at least to the Kodiak archipelago.¹¹³ Such a mistake forced the Spanish government to dispatch another expedition nine years later with its sole intent to ascertain Russian penetration into the area. Once again, a narrow-minded, timid leader obstructed Bodega from completing viceregal orders.

In total Madrid received two things from the expedition: one beneficial, the other not. Above and beyond all other accomplishments was the charting of *Bucareli Bay*. The government foresaw the bay as a future naval station and settlement. The mapping of the bay was so meticulous and conclusive, history itself corroborates the assertion with the existence of the same Spanish place names today. In truth *Bucareli Bay* possesses almost all the Spanish place names in the state. This in itself is a testament to one successful facet of Spanish endeavors in the Far North.

Complacency oozed out of the ministries in Madrid and Mexico City. Now undeniable proof existed that refuted any possibility of foreign penetration in the near future: three voyages in five years' time, each one ascending farther north with the last culminating in a rite of possession at 60°N, with no sight of any foreigners. To them the Bucareli voyages proved no Western foreigner existed within 2,000 miles of San

¹¹³ According to Bancroft, *Alaska*, p. 221, the Russian sloop *Kliment* was sailing about Kodiak at the

Francisco. In their eyes eyewitness testimony to the lack of foreigners defeated any mere speculation of Russians at the front door of San Francisco. Perhaps it was all a ruse; perhaps to the Spanish the Russians did not even exist in the New World! Suspect espionage reports and hearsay could not refute actual eyewitness testimony. Could it? Armed with this mindset it is easy to see why Spanish activity north of the Golden Gate ceased indefinitely. Unfortunately, just when Carlos's subjects ended their reconnaissance of the area, those of George III and Catherine II escalated theirs.

time of the *San Aniceto* possession.

Chapter V

War, Cutbacks, and the “Fur Rush,” 1779-1787.

The Purging of San Blas

Though fiscally obsessed and lacking some semblance of vision, the death of Antonio Bucareli was a giant loss to Spain and its claims to exclusivity on the Northwest Coast. At least he provided the continuity that facilitated the dealings of government in Mexico City. Due to various circumstances the position stood vacant much of the time. Not until the arrival of Manuel Antonio Flores in 1787 did the position retain some semblance of stability. Without a doubt, the death of Bucareli and then the quest for a successor greatly stunted continuing projects in New Spain. “Administration and policy suffered from indirection because of the short period that any one authority held office.”¹¹⁴

Despite Spanish ascendancy during Carlos’s reign, Spain was not prepared for war with Britain, least not its colonies overseas. Minister of the Indies Galvez, the minister in charge of the colonies, now had to defend both American littorals from British invasion, not to mention the Philippines, Cuba, and a large part of the West Indies. The process of fortifying the entire Spanish realm was a logistical nightmare. The viceroys all suffered from periodic episodes of personnel, supplies, and most importantly, fund shortages. Though in no way abandoning its colonies, Madrid gave priority to the defense of the

¹¹⁴Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 98.

mother country.¹¹⁵

For the sake of winning its war with Great Britain, the government ordered the Naval Department of San Blas to suspend explorations to the Alaskan coast and instead provide transport to supplies, bullion, and men to Manila.¹¹⁶ San Blas now tackled the baffling problem of providing transport to Manila thousands of miles away across the Pacific Ocean, while still maintaining its supply route to California. Making a department responsible for thousands of miles of coastline during a time of war, to say the least, hints at counterproductive.

Furthermore, the viceroy enacted new regulations for San Blas that directly led to the exodus of officers from the department. An interim viceroy cut the salary and number of personnel employed. Within five years, the official personnel at San Blas fell off by fifty percent.¹¹⁷ The need for accomplished officers to coordinate the war, coupled with the reduction of said personnel and salaries, pushed most of the well-known officers away. After commanding a supply ship to the Philippines, the navy transferred Bruno de Hezeta to Cuba then to Europe. Ignacio Arteaga never recovered from the mental and physical exhaustion he experienced on the 1779 voyage. The government recalled Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra to Europe, where he lived for the remainder of the decade. With

¹¹⁵Wright, *Anglo-Spanish*, pp. 115-130.

¹¹⁶Thurman, *San Blas*, p. 183.

¹¹⁷Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 100.

all officers gone, the second-in-command of Perez's 1774 voyage, Jose Esteban Martinez, led much of the supply voyages to California. In fact he commanded a vessel to the missions every year from 1782-1786. The viceroy's designation of Martinez as leader of the next Alaskan mission was no doubt ascribed to his prodigious work on the California supply routes.

The Interlopers

Upon arrival in England, the British Admiralty seized all logs, journals, and charts from the remaining officers aboard Cook's *Resolution* and *Discovery*. It endeavored to conceal what existed in the journals until an official report could be published. Smuggling of information after the completion of a voyage—both domestic and foreign—was quite prevalent, as evidenced by the smuggling of Mourelle's 1775 journal. Despite attempts, British magazines published two clandestine accounts in the years prior to the 1784 publication.¹¹⁸ In them, the editor embellished upon the rigors of the voyage, but no doubt underscored the profit potential of the sale of sea otter pelts in China.¹¹⁹

With the end of the War for American Independence, British mariners infiltrated the North Pacific. Most of the commanders were well acquainted with the waters, since

¹¹⁸Ibid.

¹¹⁹The coincidental publication of Mourelle's journal in 1781 should have raised a few eyebrows in Spain. A man by the name of Daines Barrington published the journal to likely stimulate interest for that region of the world. He was a member of a prestigious organization that profited from the economic expansion of Britain. Incensed and no doubt embarrassed over the lax appearance of its intelligence, Spain protested but to no avail. Mourelle's journal coupled with the anonymous reports highlighting the prosperous

they had sailed with Captain Cook in 1778. In terms of this work, the specific activities of these men—George Dixon, Nathaniel Portlock, John Meares, and James Colnett to name a few—are not important. What is pertinent is their charting of the coastline during their pursuit of furs. Each year the number of vessels increased, from one in 1785 to eight in the following year. Previously only visited by two expeditions, numerous traders now frequented Nootka, on Vancouver Island, Prince William Sound, and Cook Inlet. By the Spanish expedition of 1788, these entrepreneurs had inundated the North Pacific. San Blas now had to deal with competition.

As stated, Cook triggered a fur rush in a short amount of time. Within one year of the publication of his journals in 1784, the first profiteer appeared at Nootka. In total, from 1785 to 1789 eighteen British vessels traded on the Northwest Coast, more than double the nearest competitor.¹²⁰ The Englishmen's fur cargo totaled 288,000 pesos, compared to the combined total of the nearest competitors of only 142,000.¹²¹ No doubt the English economic juggernaut finally manifested itself in the far North Pacific.

La Perouse: France on the Northwest Coast

The French, the invulnerable foe of Great Britain for hundreds of years, did not want to be excluded from the on-goings on the coast. Moreover, they wanted to comprise

fur sale of Cook's expedition helped set in motion the fur rush of the 1780's.

¹²⁰Ibid., Appendix E. Taken from F.W. Howay, "A List of Trading Vessels in Maritime Fur Trade." *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3d ser.

¹²¹Gough, *Dominion*, p. 71.

a scientific expedition more impressive and comprehensive than that of their island nation enemy. The French government assigned Jean Francois Galaup, Comte de la Perouse to undergo scientific explorations in the Pacific Ocean. His objectives were multiple: to elucidate many of the geographic mysteries of the area (i.e. Strait of Anian); to take possession somewhere north of Bucareli Bay, generally respected by all nations as Spain's northernmost boundary; to ascertain whether or not the Hudson Bay Company had yet reached the Pacific shore; and to sail to the Aleutians, Kamchatka, and then Macao.¹²² In general the Minister of the Marines, Comte de Fleurieu, ordered him to ascertain the fur activity in the area to assess whether or not it was propitious for France to participate.

With his vessels, the *Astrolabe* and *Boussole*, La Perouse departed Brest on 1 August 1785. He stopped in Concepcion Chile, where a one Jose Miguel Urezberoeta, cajoled his way into the good graces of the scientists onboard. These men showed the Chilean their maps and confided in him their knowledge of the area. According to the French, the Russians already possessed four settlements on the Northwest Coast: Unalaska, the Trinity Islands (south of Kodiak), Prince William Sound, and Nootka.¹²³ This meeting later engendered the fourth Spanish expedition to Alaska, to assess the veracity of the La Perouse scientists.

The Frenchman continued north, sighting the Northwest Coast on 23 June 1786.

¹²²Wagner, *Cartography*, p. 199.

After sailing past Yakutat and Dry Bay, he decided to take possession in a bay he named Port des Francais, present-day Lituya Bay on 3 July 1786. Twenty-one officers and scientists perished when a squall capsized their launches near the entrance to the bay.¹²⁴ Seeing what no doubt appeared as an ominous sign, La Perouse concluded that too many intricate waterways existed in the area to properly investigate each one. He then sailed south to investigate Monterey. One must remember that La Perouse's voyage, like that of Malaspina's three years later, was a scientific circumnavigational voyage, not just designated to the Northwest Coast. La Perouse had other places to explore, one of which being Monterey.

While accomplishing one of his many supply routes to California, Esteban Martinez encountered La Perouse in the California capital. The latter spoke candidly of his knowledge of Russian activity in Alaska, though he would not discuss any French exploits. He asserted that two Russian vessels a season plied the Alaskan water to seek tributes from the natives in the form of sea-otter skins.¹²⁵ The missionaries graciously replenished the cupboards of the two vessels before their departure.

La Perouse assessed the voyage in his journal. Among others, he excoriated the Spanish for maintaining such a veil of secrecy on the Northwest Coast, even confessing he

¹²³Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 112.

¹²⁴*Ibid.*

¹²⁵Patrick, *Fidalgo*, p. 148.

would not have known of Monterey's existence had it not been for the publication of Mourelle's journal.¹²⁶ He also recommended that no official attempt should be made to pursue French claims on the Northwest Coast, the fur trade, or construction of a settlement. Although not sanctioning an official government monopoly, he did however encourage French merchants to enter the fur trade.

The Russian Bear Growls, 1774-1788

From all the frenetic activity occurring in the Pacific by the French, American, and Spanish, fate did not position any of these nations to claim and occupy the Far North better than Russia. Unlike the moribund Spanish and the haphazard English, the Russians swept quickly across the Aleutian land bridge just as they had done in Siberia. Similarities exist between the progenitors of the respective fur rushes: Bering and Cook. Both commanders perished during their voyage, both sought after the Strait of Anian, both had unflappable crews, and both returned home with a few furs that unexpectedly precipitated a fur rush.

As stated in the first chapter, after Bering, merchant companies assumed the burden of discovering the remainder of Alaska. The ephemeral nature of these companies, however, impeded any long-term development in Alaska. In most cases various hunters would form a "company" for a one-year duration, extract the furs, return home, and then

¹²⁶Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 113.

divide the profits. The following year a motley group of merchants would undergo the same process, but not always with the same people as the year before. No continuity developed among the merchants, therefore depriving them of long-term rewards.

Akin to Darwinism, eventually only the most resourceful merchants survived this innately counterproductive approach to business. While other merchants merged with their rivals to sustain their activities, Georgi Shelikov, I.L. Golikov and M.S. Golikov unified their rival companies for joint hunting ventures in Alaska. What made this merger so important was that these businessmen agreed to a ten-year venture and committed themselves to establishing settlements in the New World, for which Shelikov would lead.¹²⁷ Other rivals followed suit, the most powerful being the Lebedev-Lastochkin Company.

Shelikov constructed and outfitted three vessels for his crossing of the Bering Sea: the *Tri Sviatitelia* [*Three Saints*], *Simeon I Anna*, and the *Mikhail*. On 3 August 1784 he established the first Russian settlement on the New World in a bay on Kodiak Island he named after his vessel: Three Saints' Bay. A year before the first British fur hunter reached the North Pacific coast, Russia already possessed a settlement on the New World, thus giving them an enormous advantage over their European competitors.

The dynamic Shelikov continued his work throughout southcentral Alaska. {Color

¹²⁷ Alekseev, *Destiny*, p. 93.

Map 7, p. 245} During his first winter he dispatched fifty-four Russian hunters and scores of natives to reconnoiter the coast. They subsequently charted the lower reaches of Cook Inlet, Prince William Sound, and sailed around Kodiak Island.¹²⁸ In 1785, a party of fifty-two Russians and natives reached Prince William Sound. Upon arrival they constructed a small fort at every explorer's favorite anchorage, Nuchek.¹²⁹ In 1786 he founded the first Russian settlement on the mainland at Fort Alexandrovsk on the Kenai Peninsula.

Explorations continued under the supervision of the Greek, Evstrat Delarov. In 1788, he relayed Shelikov's orders to pilots Gerasim Izmailov and Dimitri Bocharov to bury metal plaques bearing the Russian coat of arms and the inscription "Russian Territory."¹³⁰ The pair buried these plaques in Prince William Sound, Lituya Bay, and Yakutat Bay. Within a decade the Russians would boast a settlement at Yakutat.

Despite the prodigious effort of the Shelikov-Golikov Company, their principle rival, the Lebedev-Lastochkin Company, made strides as well. In 1786, they arrived at Three Saints' Bay asking for advice as to where to construct outposts. They settled on the mainland of Alaska, constructing settlements in Bristol Bay, Lake Iliamna, and Kenai Bay.¹³¹ Various internecine struggles ensued between the two rival groups, not so much

¹²⁸Ibid., p. 96.

¹²⁹Potap Zaikof attempted to establish a fur-trading base in Prince William Sound in 1783. Hostile natives and a rough winter forced him to leave the following year.

¹³⁰Ibid., p. 101.

¹³¹Raisa V. Makarova, *Russians on the Pacific, 1743-1799*, trans. and ed. Richard Pierce (Kingston: Limestone Press, 1975), p. 137.

resulting in the deaths of Russians *per se* but rather of partisan natives. Such activity continued until the expulsion of the Lebedev-Lastochkin Company and the establishment of Shelikov's Russian America Company in 1799.

Although largely impelled by merchant exploration and hunting, the Russian government occasionally dispatched expeditions to either conduct scientific observations of the area or intimidate foreign powers. Both occurred in 1785. With the advent of British fur hunters and Spanish explorers in the vicinity, Catherine II enacted measures to bolster the defense of her Pacific periphery. She increased the number of troops stationed in Kamchatka, and more importantly, organized a round-the-world expedition led by Grigorii Mulovskii. War with Sweden in 1788 caused this expedition to be cancelled. Contemporaneous to Mulovskii's voyage, the Empress ordered Joseph Billings, a veteran from Cook's third voyage in Russian service, to undertake a scientific voyage to the North Pacific. Billing's voyage was to rendezvous with Mulovskii's in the North Pacific. By 1790, the expedition reached Alaska, nearly encountering the Salvador Fidalgo expedition.¹³²

¹³²Russia, under the capable hands of Empress Catherine II, penetrated deeper into the Pacific Northwest than any other power. Truly her plans were grandiose. When her military Mulovskii expedition and scientific Billings expedition were plying the North Pacific, Catherine planned to promulgate to all foreign powers Russia's official claim to all lands east of Mt. Saint Elias toward the Hudson Bay. To be understated, this action would not have pleased England and Spain.

Catherine, however, knew from reports that furs profits were drying up in the Aleutians and would thus necessitate Russian movement east of the Alaskan Panhandle and down the coast. Indeed within fifteen years' time, the capital of Russia America would be located east of Mt. Saint Elias. With the power of sheer

Unfortunately, the news of Catherine's plan leaked into the ministry offices of Madrid. Minister of the Indies Galvez, once so obsessed with a Russian phantom menace in the 1760's, now had to face a real one. During his twenty years as visitor-general and Minister of the Indies, he endeavored to buttress California from such an attack, but war, bureaucracy, and narrow-minded ministers defeated his grand plans. But it was the utter complacency manifested by Bucareli and others during the 1770's that truly undermined Galvez's tenuous hold of exclusivity on the Northwest Coast.

The death of the original three dynamos portended the end of the brief resurrection of Spanish power. After years of attempting to dissuade his subordinates of this dangerous dormancy, Galvez could handle it no longer. He died on 17 June 1787. The following year, the other pillar of Spanish America, Carlos III, perished as well. Now mediocre men replaced great ones. One such mediocre man was Esteban José Martínez whose moronic actions forever demolished Spain's exclusive claim to the Northwest Coast.

physical numbers, many permanent sites, and an innumerable native army, Shelikov gave Catherine Alaska.

Chapter VI

The Machismo of Martinez, 1788

Arguments in Alaska

After a nine-year-period, the Spanish finally woke up to the tangible threats to their claims coming from all three sides. Along with the Russian advance, the primary turbine for a resumption of Alaskan explorations was the French voyage of La Perouse. In 1786, when the Frenchman called at Concepcion, Chile, a worker ingratiated himself with the scientists onboard. He then purportedly laid his eyes upon a map with the alleged location of four Russian ports: Prince William Sound, Trinity Islands (southeast of Kodiak), Unalaska, and Nootka. He notified the intendant of Concepcion, Bernardo O'Higgins, who in turn notified then Minister of the Indies Galvez.

Promptly Carlos III promulgated orders for a fourth expedition to Alaska on 25 January 1787. Galvez sprung into action for the last time. He ordered the interim Viceroy of Spain to make ready an expedition to Alaska to assess the Russian threat and ascertain settlement sites. The primary goal of the fourth expedition to seek out the Russians is a departure from other expeditions' instructions of simply charting, taking possession, and trading with natives.

New personnel now had to implement the royal directive. Madrid appointed Manuel Antonio de Flores as Viceroy of New Spain. Upon Galvez's sudden death, Carlos III appointed Antonio Valdes y Bazan as Minister of the Indies, already serving as Minister

of the Marines since 1783. Valdes proved no less dynamic and thorough as Galvez during his two-year stint as Galvez's successor. Viceroy Flores and Minister of the Indies and Marines Valdes, now replaced Bucareli and Galvez.

It must have been a broken record, for the Naval Department of San Blas severely lacked personnel and vessels. If anything, the Mexican port was less prepared for a voyage in 1788 than in 1774. As mentioned after the American Revolutionary War, the government greatly cutback the department, for lower salaries and inhospitable surroundings all pushed personnel out of the department. Hezeta and Bodega served in Europe while Arteaga continued to recuperate from his 1779 voyage. No one remained to carry out the king's orders. Instructions ordered that Jose Camacho, commandant of San Blas, and Francisco Mourelle lead the expedition, but the former proved to be too ill and old to undergo the voyage while the latter commanded a supply vessel on the Manila route.¹³³ One pilot remained in San Blas, the workhorse behind the supplying of California: Esteban José Martinez.

In sheer number of voyages, no one sustained the California missions more than Esteban José Martinez Fernandez y Martinez de la Sierra. Aside from his 1774 voyage alongside Perez, he commanded supply vessels to California every year in the latter half of the 1780's. Out of sheer default, he was the most reliable officer in San Blas during this

¹³³Thurman, *San Blas*, pp. 263-264.

time. Born in Seville in 1742, Martinez entered the Seminario de San Telmo at thirteen to study navigation. He was stationed in San Blas in 1773. According to the English navigator James Colnett, Martinez once told him he was related to Viceroy Manuel Antonio Flores Maldonado Martinez de Angulo y Bodquin but no substantial proof exists.¹³⁴

A reputation as an obnoxious, proud, inebriate always followed Martinez. After Perez and Martinez's inaugural 1774 voyage to Alaska, Bucareli told Perez that he planned to appoint Martinez to join Hezeta as commanders of the 1775 voyage. Perez vehemently objected the promotion and thus Bucareli passed Martinez over for Ayala.¹³⁵ Such a case would be considered an aberration if not put in context to the events of the following years.

Upon the issuance of orders, San Blas once again had to make do with what little it had. Command fell to Martinez since, like Perez in 1774, he was the only officer at port. Due to the shortage of not only officers but pilots, Gonzalo Lopez de Haro, recently transferred from Havana after an emergency call for officers, became Martinez's cohort. To illustrate the dire straits Commandant Camacho must have found himself, command of the second vessel was given to a pilot! Since no other vessels were anchored at San Blas, the *Princesa*, used in 1779, and the packetboat *San Carlos*, first to sail into San Francisco

¹³⁴Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 121.

in 1775, rose to first on the list of two. The crew of the *Princesa* totaled eight-nine, with Esteban Mondofia and Antonio Serantes serving as Martinez's pilots. The *San Carlos*, under Lopez de Haro, featured eighty-three, with Jose Maria Narvaez and Juan Martinez y Zayas as pilots.¹³⁶ Mondofia was somewhat proficient in the Russian language.

Ascertaining the extent of Russian penetration on the Northwest Coast topped the list as primary objective of the expedition. The government instructed Martinez to ascend to 61°N, the highest latitude reached by Spain, take note of Russian settlements, their numbers, whether or not permanent, and what sort of commerce they practiced. Naturally, he was to take possession of the land and treat all foreigners with grace, friendliness, and hospitality.¹³⁷ Note how the instructions differed from the first three expeditions: now reaching the farthest north possible no longer interested Madrid. Cook had served that purpose ten years earlier.

The *Princesa* and *San Carlos* embarked on 8 March 1788. They sighted land on 16 May near Montague Island. Due to winds and Martinez's inept navigating, the vessels bobbed listlessly for over ten days outside the sound trying to enter between Montague and Hinchinbrook Islands. Passing between Montague and Latouche Islands they finally entered Prince William Sound and took possession at a cove named *Las Animas* and later

¹³⁵Ibid., p. 121.

¹³⁶Thurman, *San Blas*, pp. 264-267.

¹³⁷Patrick, *Fidalgo*, p. 152.

at Port Chalmers (60°14'30''N) on Montague Island. As stated by Lopez de Haro on the first of June,

We paraded along the whole beach; a large Holy Cross was set up which was already on shore for this purpose, and an altar dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary....On the long part [of the cross] was carved this Inscription-*Carolus Tertius Hispaniarum et Indiarum Rex*; and the head this: INRI, and on the arms, Year of 1788. This bay was given the name of *Bay of Flores* in honor of the Most Excellent Viceroy of New Spain, Don Manuel Antonio de Flores.¹³⁸

Martinez sent Mondofia and Narvaez to investigate the sound and island. The latter found an abandoned house with windows. Upon notifying his commander, Martinez haughtily replied, "the worries of the court may be ended on this point, for there are no Russians."¹³⁹

The finicky nature of the Chugach Eskimos underscored the likelihood of a foreign presence in the sound. On 28 May, upon hearing the whistle for the changing of the watch, the Eskimos replied, "All hands, Ahoy!" They used the words "plenty" and "yes" repeatedly. Martinez spied an Eskimo wearing a blue French-style jacket. The natives told the Spanish of Cook's entry into the sound and of two other unspecified voyages. Normally craving for metal pieces, these indigenous people disregarded them, but fortunately, blue beads still caught their attention.¹⁴⁰ Other merchants had apparently

¹³⁸Gonzalo Lopez de Haro, *The Voyage of the Princesa and the San Carlos to Prince William Sound, Kodiak, and Unalaska, March to October, 1788*, trans. by Katrina Moore (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1975), pp. 5-6.

¹³⁹Patrick, *Fidalgo*, p. 153. Unbeknownst to them, these derelict remains were likely Potaf Zaikov's 1783 wintering camp.

¹⁴⁰Christon I. Archer, "Russians, Indians, and Passages: Spanish Voyages to Alaska in the Eighteenth Century," *Exploration in Alaska: Captain Cook Commemorative Lectures*, ed. by Antoinette Shalkop

sated their appetites for iron and copper, for already by 1788, the Russians, and at least the Englishmen John Meares, George Dixon, and Nathaniel Portlock had visited this shore.

At this time, the Iberians gave their own names to certain Prince William Sound landmarks. {Color Map 8, p. 246} Upon entering Prince William Sound they named Middleton Island, *Hijosa*; on 25 May they named Montague Strait, *La Entrada de Principe Carlos* and LaTouche and Elrington Islands, *Las Islas de San Antonio*. Upon their anchorage on the northwestern coast of Montague Island, they sighted Cook's Green Islands, which they creatively named, *Las Islas Vertis*.¹⁴¹ The vessels carried Cook's maps and one done by Camacho in 1779, so in many cases, the Spanish simply translated the foreign name to its equivalent in Spanish.

Upon arriving in Alaska, the mercurial Martinez exhibited some unbecoming qualities that altered the outcome of the entire voyage. Tempers ignited previous to their entrance into Prince William Sound. While approaching Alaska, pilot Serantes and Lopez de Haro sighted an island which they believed to be Cook's Montague Island while Martinez believed it to be Arteaga's *Isla de Carmen* or Kayak Island. From then on, Martinez treated Serantes' contemptibly even insisting the pilot alter his log so that it

(Anchorage: Cook Inlet Historical Society, 1980), p. 136.

¹⁴¹Wagner, *Cartography*, pp. 202-203.

would comply with Martinez's.¹⁴² All the remaining officers agreed the island was Montague, but the irrepressibly stubborn Sevillano would not concede his error, even resisting all requests to promptly enter the sound. The ten days spent tacking into Prince William Sound between Hinchinbrook and Montague Islands, according to his detractors, were really Martinez's childish revenge on the rest of the crew.

The situation deteriorated even more. After entering through Montague Strait and taking possession at *Puerto de Flores*, Martinez ordered all officers to log in false courses and winds so he would not look bad to officials back home. Once again Martinez and pilot Serantes quarreled over their position, this time resulting in physical violence. The Sevillano, according to later reports filed by Serantes, Lopez de Haro, and the other officers, slapped Serantes in the face with the palm of his hand, spat on him, knocked him flat on the deck, and sat on him in front of the entire crew.¹⁴³ He then arrested Serantes and incarcerated him in Lopez de Haro's *San Carlos*.

On 7 June, the remaining officers, no doubt still reeling from the assault, convened to discuss the voyage. They all agreed that no Russian settlements existed in the sound and since the season was, as always, running late, it behooved them to sail to the Trinity Islands off of Kodiak and Unalaska, two of the four settlements identified on Prouse's maps. Contrary winds disallowed them the southwesterly course, so instead they sailed

¹⁴²Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 123.

west to the southern tip of the Kenai Peninsula, near Arteaga's *San Aniceto* (Elizabeth Island). There they encountered natives who traded with them tribute receipts, no doubt, given to them by Russians. Also retrieved was a letter written in English that no one could read.¹⁴⁴

Either out of utter disgust toward Martinez or foul weather, Lopez de Haro separated from his captain and continued his trek toward Unalaska, reputed largest Russian settlement. {Color Map 9, p. 247} North of Two-Headed Point, southeast of Kodiak Island, twelve canoes approached him with a letter written in both English and Russian.¹⁴⁵ Unknown to the Spaniard, the vessel was close to Three Saints' Bay, Shelikof and Europe's first settlement in the Pacific Northwest. Later, Evstrat Delarov, manager of the Golikov-Shelikov Company came out to the *San Carlos* in a launch. The two "de haro's" got along quite well with each other, no doubt feeling a bond due to the similarities of their surnames.

During their meeting, Delarov shared much information with Lopez de Haro. There he questioned the Russian as to the veracity of Perouse's maps. The Iberian testifies,

He answered no [to a settlement on Trinity Island] that they only had on outpost,

¹⁴³Wagner, *Cartography*, p. 216.

¹⁴⁴Patrick, *Fidalgo*, p. 153. It is unclear whether the Lopez de Haro lost sight of Martinez before or after the voucher incident of the Kenai. The author's various sources contradict each other while Lopez de Haro's journal does not mention it at all.

¹⁴⁵Wagner, *Cartography*, p. 203.

but they had settlements in Cook's River and in the Island of Oonalaska, and other passages along the coast, and that the number of Russians which they had in all was 462. Likewise I asked whether they had a settlement in the harbor of Nootka, to which he answered no, but that two frigates which they were expecting the following year, people would come to settle a post there.¹⁴⁶

In all Delarov enumerated seven Russian sites stretching from Unalaska to Prince William Sound.

<u>Location</u>	<u>Residents</u>
-Unalaska	-2 schooners & 60 residents
-Prince William Sound	-37 residents
-Nootka	-40 residents
-Cape Elizabeth	-40 residents
-Cape Rada of Cook Inlet	-40 residents
-55°15'N	-120 mariners on a schooner ¹⁴⁷

He prevaricated that a Russian sloop in Prince William Sound traded down the coast to Nootka. Even at this time, the Russians had likely not been past Yakutat Bay, and no proof exists of any British vessels encountering Russian ones south of said bay.¹⁴⁸

Delarov's number of four hundred and sixty-two Russians must have overwhelmed the poor Spanish pilot. In fact the wily Greek attempted to enhance the number so as to convince the Spaniards of the futility of claiming land in Alaska. Delarov also gave the Spaniard a map of the vicinity showcasing the Russian establishments and the insularity of

¹⁴⁶Lopez de Haro, *Voyage*, p. 19. Taken from *Diario* 1 July 1788 entry.

¹⁴⁷Ibid., p. 20. Taken from *Diario* 1 July 1788 entry.

¹⁴⁸Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 125.

Kodiak.¹⁴⁹ Upon hearing news of a Spanish vessel near the Trinity Islands, the *San Carlos* sailed for a rendezvous.

Lopez de Haro was not the only one with a Russian encounter. After the separation Martinez encountered a Russian off of the Trinity Islands on 27 June. Pilot and translator Mondofia disembarked to question him. The hunter stated he had lived there for nine years. The captain invited the Russian to regale with the officers onboard, and upon inebriation, confessed to the existence of Unalaska. No doubt Martinez was upset, for he spent his good liquor just to glean that tidbit of useless information from the Russian. Three days later Martinez took possession and renamed the islands *San Juan Crisostimo*. He later crossed onto the “mainland” and named the cape *Floridablanca*.¹⁵⁰ Thereafter, he sighted the *San Carlos* resulting in the reunion of the two vessels.

It is safe to assume Lopez de Haro remembered why he separated from Martinez upon their reunion at the Trinity Islands. Martinez thought it was best to sail home immediately upon hearing the news of Nootka’ pending occupation the following year. His cohort suggested sailing to Unalaska to investigate the “large” Russian settlement. Once again, even though the officers agreed with Lopez de Haro that they should adhere to the royal orders of investigating all Russian settlements, Martinez stubbornly disagreed.

¹⁴⁹Lopez de Haro, *Voyage*, p.16. Taken from 30 June 1788 entry.

¹⁵⁰Wagner, *Cartography*, p. 204. Upon looking for the present-day placename for *Cape Floridablanca*, Orth’s Dictionary of Alaskan Place names uses *Floridablanca* to include the entire island of Kodiak.

On 5 August, only after his temper tantrum, did he change his mind and approve the voyage to Unalaska.¹⁵¹

En route they named a variety of landmarks some of which can be identified to this day. {Color Map 10, p. 248} They named Chirikof Island, *Infante*; and the Shumagin Islands *Islas de los Pilotos*. Sailing along the peninsula they named Sanak Island, *Zayas o Plies*, after the pilot of the *Princesa*. Off of Unimak Island, they named Shishaldin Volcano, *Fernandez*, and the entire island, *San Gonzalo*. Approaching Unalaska, he named Biorka, *Cabo Providencia*, passed through Unalga Pass, named *Camacho*, to a bay on the northwest side of the island they named *Princesa de Asturias*, where they buried a bottle and took possession.¹⁵²

Upon reaching their destination, Martinez and Lopez de Haro viewed first-hand the metropolis that was Unalaska (53°52'30''N, 166°32'00''W). The manager of the settlement was Potap Zaikof, referred as "Cusmich" in journal entries, described as swarthy in color, scarred by smallpox, and of heavy but stocky stature. To Martinez he appeared more Spanish than Russian.¹⁵³ The "major settlement" Delarov described at Three Saints' Bay was nothing more than "a large house, which has one large room which serves as barracks for all the Russians, and another small room in which captain Cusmich

¹⁵¹Patrick, *Fidalgo*, p. 157.

¹⁵²Wagner, *Cartography*, p. 204. Whether or not these are accurate is unclear. The two navigators gave many more place names but in most cases it is very difficult to discern its exact location.

lives.”¹⁵⁴ Also the Spaniards extrapolated from the Aleuts at the settlement that many of the four hundred and sixty-two “Russians” in Alaska were either Creoles or acculturated Aleuts. Laughingly, Zaikof was the only Russian at the settlement.

Zaikof reiterated much of what Delarov told Lopez de Haro: the various Russian settlements and British activity in the area. More striking, the manager mentioned that four, not two frigates were arriving the following year to occupy Nootka. No doubt these were the aforementioned Mulovskii and Billings expeditions. It seems news had not reached Russian America of the former’s cancellation. The arrival of Gerassim Pribylov and his corroboration of Nootka’s occupation only distressed the Spaniards even more.¹⁵⁵

Importantly, Zaikov contradicted Delarov’s assertion by candidly conceding that no Russian vessels had passed beyond Cape St. Elias, although Bocharov, contemporaneous to this visit, was burying plaques in Yakutat Bay. He also mentioned the British fur activity in the area.

The Spanish undertook this expedition so they could ascertain Russian penetration into the area and assess its settlements. Despite the bleak appearance of its settlements, the Russians had made giant strides into Alaska, and this no doubt must have distressed Martinez. Coupled with the English and French reminders in Prince William Sound and

¹⁵³Archer, “Russians,” p. 136.

¹⁵⁴Lopez de Haro, *Voyage*, p. 29. Taken from *Information Acquired in the Island of Oonalaska* entry.

¹⁵⁵Archer, “Russians,” p. 138. The Pribilof Islands in the Bering Sea are named after this Russian fur

tales of countless expedition visiting the area, the Spanish had to come to terms with the fact the Russians already possessed schools in Alaska and an elaborate cash economy. It was untenable and foolish for Martinez to think Spain could occupy this area, but nevertheless, on 5 August he and his entourage surreptitiously took possession of Unalaska at a waterfront near Zaikov's settlement, naming it *Puerto de Doña Maria Luisa Teresa de Parma, Princesa de Asturias*.¹⁵⁶ The Russians never discovered the audacity and futility of the act.

Once again the unpredictable Martinez reared his ugly head. With Zaikov present, he referred to his pilots, no doubt directed toward Serantes, as "rascally cabin boys" and "lousy."¹⁵⁷ After Zaikov's departure from the *Princesa*, he ordered Lopez de Haro to turn over all his logs, step down from power, and allow pilot Narvaez to take command of the *San Carlos*. The other pilots entreated the brash Sevillano not to press such an order, and upon seeing his subordinates pleading on their knees, he backed down and returned Lopez de Haro to command.¹⁵⁸

With the threat of seizure of all officers' logs so they may be altered, Lopez de Haro perpetrated an act of insubordination. As he states,

Upon arriving at Monterey [Martinez] intended requesting everyone's log, and if he found any account of the trouble that had occurred he would destroy it, and if

hunter.

¹⁵⁶Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 127.

¹⁵⁷Ibid.

¹⁵⁸Patrick, *Fidalgo*, p. 158.

he encountered in mine the slightest hint he would take the packetboat away and carry me under arrest to San Blas, and would deal rigorously with anyone found writing to Your Excellency even the slightest account.¹⁵⁹

Martinez wanted Lopez de Haro to stay within close proximity to the *Princesa*, and if out of eyesight, to rendezvous at Monterey. With the specter of a bully hovering of them, the officers of the *San Carlos* rationalized that the lateness of the season made perusal of the coast dangerous, and thus voted to sail directly to San Blas, disobeying their superior's orders.¹⁶⁰ No doubt, Lopez de Haro, Serantes and others wanted to arrive early so they could file their complaints first. They arrived in San Blas on 22 October 1788, while Martinez, no doubt incensed by the betrayal of his crew, waited in Monterey for a month before disembarking in San Blas on 5 November.

As with the other expeditions, it is all a matter of perspective whether or not the fourth Spanish expedition was a success. In terms of camaraderie, it was abysmal. Martinez's drunken episodes and erratic behavior no doubt undermined the morale of the expedition. His suspect decision-making wasted valuable time. Scientifically and cartographically speaking, the expedition failed. They discovered no new land or apocryphal straits, and the officers were horribly lacking in navigational and mapmaking skills.

¹⁵⁹Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 127. Taken from a letter from Lopez de Haro to Viceroy Flores, 5 December 1788. AT.

¹⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p. 129.

Perhaps the most important failure, like that of Arteaga's 1779 voyage, was that a meticulous examination of the coast from Yakutat Bay to Monterey Bay was not forthcoming. The Spanish still did not know of the intricate contours of the Northwest Coast, nor did they know the insularity of *Bucareli Bay*, *Remedios Port*, or the rest of the Alaskan panhandle.¹⁶¹ Any one of the three apocryphal straits could still be hidden in the maze of islands and inlets.

Despite its massive shortcomings, Martinez and Lopez de Haro's expedition fully and, no doubt painfully, exposed to Spain the Russian presence on the New World. In that regard, they noted every requirement: number of settlements, number of inhabitants, Nootka colonization, economic activity, and British penetration into the area. If one were to only look at viceregal objectives, Martinez's expedition fulfilled them more than any previous one! The Russian and Spanish rapprochement was something to be proud of as well, forthcoming so easily, for truly neither viewed the other as their primary opponent anymore. The British satisfied that category.

Accusation and Actuations

Since Lopez de Haro disobeyed his superior's orders to sail directly to San Blas, he and his counterparts were the first to recount their version of what occurred in Alaska.

¹⁶¹ Archer, "Russian," p. 138. The expeditions never called on Nootka to see first hand the frenetic trading activities of the Americans and English. Perhaps the Spanish strategy at Nootka (i.e. detainment of Colnett) could have been thwarted had they seen the already prevalent activity in the sound.

Lopez de Haro, pilots Serantes and Narvaez, and pilot's apprentice Jose Verida all sent protests to Viceroy Flores stating they had experienced on the voyage "treatment very contrary to what was proper to them."¹⁶² Flores submitted them to the Ministry of the Marines back in Madrid, but decided to refrain from judgment until Martinez could return and tell his version. The insubordination and the subsequent failure to reconnoiter the coastline seemed to anger Flores more than the behavior of the Sevillano. The viceroy felt Lopez de Haro and others embellished their tales so to exculpate themselves for their act of insubordination.¹⁶³

Staying true to his personality Martinez candidly expressed his opinion concerning Alaska. Martinez states, "The land inclusive from 55° 15' or from Bucareli Sound to 61° and from this point including all of the southwest coast to the island of Unalaska, is sterile, very mountainous, broken, and covered with snow most of the year. There is little or no forest cover and no capacity for agriculture."¹⁶⁴ Perhaps his bad experiences in Alaska skewed his view of the land.

¹⁶²Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 128. Narvaez and Verdia to the Viceroy, n.d., SpAHN (Estado 4289). AT.

¹⁶³Patrick, *Fidalgo*, p. 160. Martinez never addressed the issue. Upon his arrival he immediately dispatched a letter to the viceroy urging Spanish occupation of Nootka by the following summer, so as to beat the four Russian frigates en route. He suggested establishment of a naval base at four location--Nootka, Bucareli Bay, Hezeta's Entrance (Columbia River), and Port Trinidad (Northern California)--to solidify there claim south to San Francisco. It is easy to believe he did not think highly of Alaska from the above quote, but it is likely a front for the proud Martinez, who knew it would be a waste of time to claim an area so infiltrated by the Russians.

¹⁶⁴Archer, "Russian," p. 138. Taken from *Diario de Martinez*, 5 December 1788, AGI Mexico, leg. 1529.

Martinez cajoled his way out of trouble. Depicting himself as a true martyr, he “offered to carry out this commission [to occupy Nootka] sacrificing my last breath in the service of God and king if Your Excellency so desires.”¹⁶⁵ How could any nation-loving viceroy resist such a passionate submission? Armed with the urgent news collected in Unalaska and Three Saints’ Bay, coupled with the possibility that Martinez and Flores were related Viceroy Flores delayed his pending investigation.

The need to colonize Nootka before the Russians reached it the following year was of prime importance to Spain. Once again, Flores lacked the sufficient manpower and vessels to take and maintain occupation of a naval base. Since time was of the essence, he had no choice but to appoint Martinez as leader of the expedition. Furthermore, Flores ordered Lopez de Haro, Serantes and the other officers to sail with him. In essence it was a duplication of the tumultuous 1788 crew! In order to assuage Martinez, Flores suspended Camacho’s investigation, and asked the crew to “put aside whatever cause might lead to discord,” and that “whoever in the future should revive past disagreements would suffer the most severe penalties.”¹⁶⁶ One must feel for Lopez de Haro, Serantes, and the others who went behind Martinez’s back to tattle on him. Now viceregal orders forced them to work together again.

¹⁶⁵Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 129.

¹⁶⁶*Ibid.*, p. 131. Taken from a letter Flores to Minister Galvez, 23 December 1788, *Carta Reservada*, SpAHN (Estado 4289), AT.

En route to Nootka, Flores's report reached Madrid and once again the capital dispatched a new contingent of officers to San Blas, reminiscent of 1774, in response to the viceroy's request. Flores's plan received unequivocal approbation from the crown. Carlos III died in December 1788, but luckily his moronic cuckold son and successor, Carlos IV, retained his father's trusted ministers in Madrid. Carlos, in an expression of faith, told Flores to make all necessary expenditures to guarantee claims in the Far North.¹⁶⁷ In response to the viceroy's request for additional officers, Valdes transferred Juan Francisco Bodega y Quadra to replace Jose Camacho as Commandant of San Blas, and six additional officers. They accompanied the new Viceroy of New Spain, Conde de Revillagigedo, to Mexico. With superb officers and a new energetic viceroy en route Spain was ready to combat the foreign incursions on its Northwest flank.

The Nootka Imbrolio

The Nootka incident is extremely important to Spanish activity on the Northwest Coast. The brash Martinez's seizure and detention of British vessels and sailors brought the two nations to the brink of war during the summer of 1790. The Iberians turned to their ally, France, but Louis XVI, too distracted with rising discontent in his own nation, could not help them. Despite threatening England with invectives, Madrid knew it could never defeat the British without French assistance. To avert a war they could not win,

¹⁶⁷Patrick, *Fidalgo*, p. 163.

Spain signed the Nootka Convention of 1790. As most treaties, the equivocal wording led to wide interpretation.

The main significance arising from the Nootka Convention was Spain's relinquishing of exclusive claim to the Pacific Coast. Perhaps already obvious to those foreign vessels plying the water, this concession of no longer possessing exclusivity was unprecedented. Spain now admitted that all land north of ten maritime leagues from its farthest north settlement, prior to April 1789, belonged to no one.¹⁶⁸ Thus began the quickest ebb tide in colonial history, or the "defensive defensive"¹⁶⁹. Within twenty-five years, instead of being one of many suitors to the area, Spain would lose all claim to lands north of California.

Spain finally learned a lesson from its futile policy of secrecy. The Iberian nation now saw first hand how it undermined its claims. Had they published their findings, they, in all likelihood, would not be at the brink of war. Forever afterwards, Spain became more open exchanging information with the British. Especially now that the British merchants would be flocking to Nootka, it was imperative that such a course of action be taken.

Ironically, as Spanish prestige waned, their presence on the Northwest Coast waxed. From 1788 to 1794, the Spanish boasted thirty-four vessels on the coast, most of

¹⁶⁸Denton, *Coast*, p. 210. Taken from Nootka Convention 28 October 1790.

them outfitted by the Naval Department of San Blas.¹⁷⁰ Although Spain no longer possessed sole claim to the littoral north of California, it would do its best to increase its presence in the area. Since, as the Spanish learned so well at this time, “possession is nine-tenths of the law,” just because it could not boast exclusivity did not mean the land already belonged to Great Britain. With the full force of a diligent new viceroy, the return of Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, and a complement of seven distinguished naval officers, Spain once again raced to the Northwest Coast to fix what Martinez had broken.

¹⁶⁹Chapman, *California*, p. 345.

¹⁷⁰Cook, *Flood Tide*, Appendix E.

Chapter VII

Cordova and Valdez

Infusion of New Blood

When Martinez returned from Nootka on 6 December 1789, he might not have recognized many of the personnel. Bodega replaced Camacho as Commandant of San Blas, Revillagigedo replaced Flores as Viceroy of New Spain, and six new officers—Manuel Quimper, Salvador Fidalgo, Ramon Saavedra, Francisco Eliza, Jacinto Caamaño, and Salvador Menendez Valdes—filled the officer barracks. Perhaps Madrid had learned a little from history; when San Blas boasted one officer, like in 1773 and 1787, the subsequent expedition failed in most respects, but when the department received an infusion of new officers, in 1774 and 1789, subsequent expeditions excelled. Viceroy Revillagigedo began preparations for a full-scale occupation of the Northwest Coast.

The Nootka incident deterred foreign powers from approaching the Northwest Coast for fear of arrest. In essence, the hasty occupation of Nootka in 1789 did deter the Russians from contemplating occupation.¹⁷¹ However they still continued their activities in the Far North Pacific. The pending war and fear of arrest temporarily halted the British fur trade. For a year, aside from random American vessels, the Eastern Pacific momentarily reverted back to the “Spanish Lake.”

¹⁷¹Patrick, *Fidalgo*, p. 171.

By October 1789, Bodega and Revillagigedo began orchestrating the pending voyage. The latter wanted to give Martinez the role of second officer, but Bodega convinced Revillagigedo to designate him a simple route pilot.¹⁷² The viceroy instead gave the command of the expedition to the new officers, although Bodega entreated the viceroy to allow him to sail to Hawaii, then east to *Bucareli Bay* and down to Nootka.¹⁷³ Revillagigedo appointed Francisco Eliza as commandant of Nootka, with Salvador Fidalgo and Manuel Quimper serving as consort.

The instructions penned by Bodega and dated 28 January 1790 were precise. Eliza, in the *Concepcion*, Fidalgo, in the *San Carlos*, and Quimper, in the *Princesa Real* were to sail to Nootka as quickly as possible to guarantee reoccupation of the sound. Aside from the occupation of Nootka, the secret instructions contained thirty-three articles. As explained by the order, the explorations

Are to begin from 59°N latitude, in which is found the anchorage of *Regla*, known as the river of Cook, which should be carefully inspected to learn whether the Russians are fortified there, according to the information of Captain Colnett. When this is ascertained the voyage should continue to explore the *Bay of Santiago*, called by foreigners Prince William... and from this point on will not lose sight of the coast until the Sound of Fuca. (Article 4)¹⁷⁴

Upon arrival to vacant Nootka, Fidalgo learned of his secret orders. While Eliza

¹⁷²Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 273.

¹⁷³Wagner, *Cartography*, p. 219.

¹⁷⁴Salvador Fidalgo, *Fidalgo's Alaskan Voyage of 1790: The Claiming and Naming of Cordova and Valdez*, trans. by Katrina Moore (Mexico City: Archivo General de la Nacion, 1975), pp. 1-4.

established the settlement and Quimper explored the emerging Juan de Fuca Strait, Fidalgo raced to Alaska to chart the coast south of Prince William Sound.

Why would the Spanish order another expedition to the Pacific Far North when Martinez's 1788 voyage clearly demonstrated Russian control of the area? Primarily, to see how much the Russians had moved eastward in that two-year time span. Perhaps the Russian expedition sent to occupy Nootka, occupied a harbor farther north, perhaps *Bucareli Bay*, *Remedios*, or Yakutat Bay. The Spanish wanted to ascertain the extent of Russian movement toward the area the Spanish felt they had a solid claim, namely Bucareli Bay and Nootka.

Also the Spanish feared that foreign nations could have located the still undiscovered apocryphal straits. Due to the failure to follow orders by both the 1779 and 1788 voyages to the Pacific Far North, the Spanish still knew little of the coast between Nootka, situated on Vancouver Island, and Yakutat Bay. Could one of the straits be hidden there? Juan de Fuca Strait was emerging as a potential one, why not one farther north? The thought of the British or Russians discovering the passageway brought panic to the hearts of ministers in Madrid.

Fidalgo in Alaska

Contemporaneous to the discovery of the entrances to Puget Sound and the Strait of Georgia, Salvador Fidalgo, more than any other Spanish explorer, etched his place into Alaska history with his Prince William Sound place names. He was born near Lerida,

Spain in 1756. At nineteen he became a midshipman in the Naval School at Cadiz. The navy dispatched him to South America, until the onset of the War of American Revolution, where he served in the convoy of a French fleet, and fought the British at Algeciras. His most outstanding accomplishment, no doubt contributing to his transferal to San Blas, was his exceptional mapping of the Mediterranean Sea in the early 1780's. After the 1790 voyage he briefly served as both commandant of San Blas in 1791, and Nootka, the following year, coordinating the tens of voyages outfitted by San Blas. He served the department in various capacities, before expiring on 27 September 1803.¹⁷⁵

Although ordered to arrive at Cook Inlet and then coast toward Nootka, Fidalgo, for whatever reason, sailed directly to Prince William Sound. {Color Map 8, p. 246} On 23 May, he sighted the coast and entered between Hinchinbrook and Montague Islands. The *San Carlos* anchored at Nuchek (Arteaga's *Port Santiago*). Not comfortable with the exposure, he crept east looking for a more protected harbor. He anchored on the northern side of Hinchinbrook Island, near Johnstone Point.¹⁷⁶ Although pilot Canizares earlier named it *Cabo de Frio* in 1779, it appeared on Spanish maps as *Punta de San Luis*.¹⁷⁷ He sent out the launches to reconnoiter the island. Unlike Canizares's charting of the northern coast of the island in 1779, Fidalgo's men viewed the Hawkins Cutoff, separating

¹⁷⁵Patrick, *Fidalgo*, pp. 215-222.

¹⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p. 384.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

Hinchinbrook and Hawkins Islands. The same day Fidalgo again moved the vessel, this time anchoring off of Double Bay, east of Johnstone Point.¹⁷⁸ Once again the Chugach Eskimos approached the *San Carlos* for trading. They scorned any copper, but still favored the sky blue beads Martinez had adorned them with two years earlier.¹⁷⁹

After a few days of inclement weather, Fidalgo took his first possession. Sailing northeast into present-day Orca Bay (60°36'N) he disembarked with his entourage of officers and chaplain. On 2 June he ordered the ship's carpenter to carve a cross on the trunk of a tree with the initials "I.R.N. I." and "Carolus IV Rex Hispaniarum." The following day, after all the solemnity and ritual of possession, he "named this bay *Bahia de Córdoba* for the sake of the most excellent Lord Don Luis de Córdoba, Captain-General of the Real Armada."¹⁸⁰ This *Cordova Bay* remained on Alaskan maps until 1906, when Orca Bay replaced it.¹⁸¹ However, the town of *Cordova* on Orca Inlet was named after the bay, which in turn, was named for Señor Córdoba, the second highest official in the Spanish navy.

Mystery enshrouds Fidalgo's next possession. He ordered his pilots to fully investigate the entrance they spied earlier, namely Hawkins Cutoff. The launch, manned

¹⁷⁸Lethcoe, *Prince William*, p. 17.

¹⁷⁹Archer, "Russians," p. 139. Likely the Ahtna Indians of the Copper River Valley provided the Chugach Eskimos with all the copper they needed.

¹⁸⁰Fidalgo, *Alaskan*, p. 15. 2-3 June 1790.

¹⁸¹Patrick, *Fidalgo*, p. 392. This replacement was done so this *Cordova Bay* would not get confused

by Fidalgo, Menendez and Serantes, scrutinized the entire cutoff all the way to the coast, where they named the point opposite, *Canizares*, today's Point Whitshed. Despite his uncanny ability to name all landmarks, the captain rarely took latitudinal and longitudinal readings; thus many of his place names remain unknown. He took possession at one *Ensenada de Menendez*, whose location remains a mystery today. In all likelihood, it is located on the southeast side of Orca Inlet across from present-day Cordova.¹⁸² If such is the case, the town of Cordova should be named Menendez!

The large inlet north of Orca Bay is misnamed. On 8 June, taking advantage of the good weather, Fidalgo sailed the *San Carlos* out of Orca Bay, ascended deeper into the sound, and subsequently anchored in a "snug" cove. There he disembarked, buried a bottle with the possession document, erected a cross, and performed the ritual ceremony.¹⁸³ He named the bay, *Gravina*, after a famous Spanish admiral who later fought the British at Trafalgar and named its southern point *Cabo Federico*.¹⁸⁴

From there more controversy ensues. The *San Carlos* remained at *Gravina* from

with the *Cordova Bay* in Southeast Alaska.

¹⁸²Patrick, *Fidalgo*, pp. 394-396. Such a location is completely Patrick's idea. Her entire five hundred-page book deals with the expedition: Historical Background, Biography of Fidalgo, the Diary in Spanish and English, and most importantly the Commentary. She in fact refutes many of Wagner, Bancroft, and others' assertions. Considering the work she has put into the Fidalgo expedition, the author unshakably adheres to her assertions, more than the error-laden Wagner and Bancroft, and all who have cited them. Both of the aforementioned place Menendez in either Sheep or Simpson Bay.

¹⁸³Fidalgo, *Alaskan*, p. 19. 10-11 June 1790.

¹⁸⁴Lethcoe, *History*, p. 18. These authors possess an excellent map of the sound with many of the names Fidalgo gave to present-day locations. They did copy from Wagner, for their locations for Gravina and Fidalgo are wrong.

9-20 June as the commander dispatched various launches. On 13 June he ordered one to investigate the inlet south of the anchorage, present-day Port Gravina (60°38'N). Why is it that present-day and past *Gravina* do not match? Fidalgo was not anchored in present-day Port Gravina but rather in the inlet north of it. The pilots he had launched were in Port Gravina, but the *San Carlos* was not. The packetboat was in fact in Cook's Snug Corner Cove, in present-day Port Fidalgo (60°47'N)!¹⁸⁵ Therefore, present-day Port Fidalgo is really Fidalgo's "*Port Gravina*.." Fidalgo likely knew he was in Cook's anchorage, yet also knew the Englishman did not take possession in Prince William Sound. This explains his prompt taking of possession the day after anchoring in *Gravina*. The analysis of Vancouver's explorations in the sound will clarify this mismatch.

The misappropriation of place names does not end here. On 15 June his pilots sent out to investigate present-day Port Gravina notified Fidalgo of "a port of greater size than that of *Gravina*."¹⁸⁶ Fidalgo named this "port" *Mazarredo*, in honor of a one of the officers he served in Europe, Jose de Mazarredo y Salazar. This large "port" is in fact tiny Two Moon Bay, east of Snug Corner Cove in present-day Port Fidalgo.¹⁸⁷

Fidalgo and the *San Carlos* remained in *Gravina* harbor in present-day Port Fidalgo for the remainder of the Prince William Sound segment of the voyage. On 14

¹⁸⁵Patrick, *Fidalgo*, pp. 235-241.

¹⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p. 285. Taken from *Diario* 14-15 June 1790.

¹⁸⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 241-243.

June a Chugach man agreed to guide the Spanish for an exploration of the northeast part of the sound. Upon their return they told Fidalgo about what they had seen. The captain gave names to the following places upon hearing their story.

They sailed toward present-day Glacier Island (*Isla de Conde*) and saw a “floating snow bank.” After hearing a “great subterranean thunderclap” they asked the native what was it they heard. He instructed them to sail past Heather Island, where they witnessed a “great plain of snow¹⁸⁸.” No doubt to men unaccustomed to the North, the “great plain of snow” must have been fantastic to them. Of course they viewed today’s Columbia Glacier. Fidalgo named Columbia Bay, *Bahia de Revillagigedo*.¹⁸⁹ The Spaniards believed a volcano, named *Fidalgo*, caused the great “thunderclap” and its grand volleys of ice into the air. They immediately left the glacier.¹⁹⁰

The pilots in their launch continued north. After witnessing the “volcano,” the Eskimo took the pilots to his village, likely on Bligh Island (*Islas de Quadra*). Once again, a mystery ensues for Fidalgo, in his journal, lists his place names for Glacier Island and Columbia Bay, and then appends “to the great bay that has its terminus in the northernmost part of *Principe Guillermo*, *Ensenada de Valdes*.”¹⁹¹ This “terminus” is

¹⁸⁸Fidalgo, *Alaskan*, pp. 24. 17-18 June 1790.

¹⁸⁹Lethcoe, *History*, p. 18.

¹⁹⁰Patrick believes what they witnessed was a “growler”. She contends a small earthquake caused a piece of the glacier to calve thus causing the frightening noises and the belief of a volcano. No volcanoes exist in the area. *Fidalgo* pp. 243-245.

¹⁹¹Fidalgo, *Alaskan*, p. 25. 17-18 June 1790.

named after Minister of the Indies and Marines, Antonio Valdes y Bazan, Galvez's successor. It is unclear whether or not the launch, while traveling east toward the Eskimo's village simply viewed present-day *Valdez Arm* (60°53'N) or did they chart its shores until its terminus at the present-day town of Valdez. In all likelihood the former, for Serantes and Menendez had the luxury of only two days.

With the order to hug the coastline down to Nootka, Fidalgo realized he could not squander his time in Prince William Sound. He decided to exit the sound via Montague Strait, the same passageway Martinez used two years earlier. En route, he bestowed various place names: Montague Strait, *Boca de Quadra*; Naked Islands, *Islas de Quimper*; and Latouche Island, *Isla San Antonio*.¹⁹² Although Mondofia and Serantes served Martinez in 1788, they had apparently forgotten the location of *Port Flores*, for in their company Fidalgo renamed Port Chalmers, *Ensenada de Caamaño*. As seen with Malaspina and Caamaño, this overlapping of Spanish names was a common occurrence.

Fidalgo became the first Spanish expedition to travel deep into Cook Inlet. {Color Map 9, p. 247} After departing Prince William Sound on 30 June, the *San Carlos* coasted westward and ventured passed the Chugach Islands, one of them being Arteaga's *San Aniceto* (Elizabeth Island). He named East Chugach Island, *Isla de Matute*, Pear Island,

¹⁹²Lethcoe, *History*, p. 18.

Isla de Bertodano, and the tip of the Kenai Peninsula *Cabo Baldez*.¹⁹³ Rounding the peninsula he spied “a house in a small bay,” no doubt a Russian post.¹⁹⁴ It was Shelikov’s Fort Alexandrovsk, near present-day Port Graham, established in 1786. The Russians, as always, extended all courtesy to the Spanish. Much like Martinez in Unalaska two years earlier, Fidalgo surreptitiously took possession near Port Graham at a port he called *Revillagigedo* on 15 July.¹⁹⁵ The Russians told them of another settlement, one manned by the Lebedev-Lastochkin Company deeper in Cook Inlet. He sent Mondofia in a launch to investigate the settlement.

Fidalgo had an opportunity to encounter the most feared Russian expedition in Spain’s eyes but opted to evade it. While waiting for Mondofia’s return, an Eskimo gave Fidalgo a letter in English, though no one could read it. It stated,

I have not the pleasure of knowing your name, but take this opportunity to acquaint you that I should have been extremely happy in an interview. I left Kodiak with a design of seeing you, but contrary winds have prevented that happiness. I shall now steer strait for Sandwich or Prince William Sound to a Bay to the NE where Capt. Cook laid at anchor and shall make a stay of 8 to 10 days. I should be happy to have the honor to see you there provided it is in your way. I have the honor to be Slava Russi.

Your Humble Servant,
Joseph Billings¹⁹⁶

The letter came from the much-anticipated, long-overdue Billings Expedition.

¹⁹³Patrick, *Fidalgo*, pp. 99-100.

¹⁹⁴Fidalgo, *Alaskan*, p. 44. 3-4 July 1790.

¹⁹⁵Ibid., p. 50. 14-15 July 1790.

¹⁹⁶Patrick, *Fidalgo*, p. 419. Letter from Billings to Fidalgo, 13 July 1790.

Perhaps even if Fidalgo could have read it, it is unlikely he would have rendezvoused with Billings. Primarily, he had already charted Prince William Sound and such a meeting would have wasted time. Secondly, Billings could have easily feigned friendliness to ensnare the Spanish. Fidalgo saw no reason to tempt fate with a government-sanctioned Russian vessel.

Fidalgo continued sailing deep into Cook Inlet. He sighted Kachemak Bay (59°35'N), which he named *Boca de Quadra*, and its northern entrance, Anchor Point, *Punta de Quadra*. He sailed northward and named Kalgin Island, midway in Cook Inlet, *Isla de Peligro*.¹⁹⁷ He visited the Lebedev-Lastochkin settlement of Fort St. George on the Kasilof River south of present-day Kenai. According to its inhabitants, the Eskimos laid siege to the Russian settlement housing twenty-one Russians. They told Fidalgo that three Russians had been killed three days earlier. Fidalgo queried as to how long the settlement existed; they replied three years.¹⁹⁸

Whether or not he sailed farther into Cook Inlet is debatable. Fidalgo states, "I haven't continued any farther on in the reconnaissance by knowing that the Russians have not passed beyond this point and that in all river there are not more ports than the two mentioned."¹⁹⁹ He was mistaken, for by 1790, the Russians had establishments in the

¹⁹⁷Ibid., p. 124.

¹⁹⁸Fidalgo, *Alaskan*, p. 59 "Description."

¹⁹⁹Ibid.

middle and lower reaches of Cook Inlet. Fidalgo spent a total of thirty-three days in Cook Inlet, yet one could not tell by his insufficient journal.

On 7 August Fidalgo set sail for Kodiak arriving there eight days later. Upon arriving in Three Saints' Bay, he viewed the same schools Martinez had seen two years previous and he spoke to the same manager, Evstrat Delarov. He, among other things, told the Spaniard that Russians had plied the coast down to 57°N.²⁰⁰ This no doubt alerted Fidalgo, for Spain's prize harbor, *Bucareli Bay*, lay at 55°N. This perhaps prompted Fidalgo to leave immediately, for in total he spent no more than thirty-two hours anchored at Three Saints' Bay, and only twelve in the settlement itself.²⁰¹

By 17 August he departed the Shelikov settlement en route to charting the entire coast to Nootka. This proved to be wishful thinking. Fidalgo did not even attempt to enter Nootka, instead he sailed straight to San Francisco, where he met Quimper. They left the Spanish town on 24 October, arriving at San Blas on 14 November.

Fidalgo's voyage somewhat answered Spain's question as to how far south Russian activity extended. True that Delarov mentioned 57° as the frontier but how would Madrid know unless a Spanish vessel investigated the said area? Fidalgo himself

²⁰⁰Ibid., p. 63 "Concerning the Establishment of the Russians in the Island of Kodiak."

²⁰¹Patrick, *Fidalgo*, p. 248. Unquestionably, Fidalgo maintained the worst journal out of the seven expeditions to Alaska. It is still unclear as to how far up he sailed Cook Inlet. His journal is extremely unclear concerning the two Russian settlements he uncovered at Port Graham and Kasilof. In the middle of his journal, he adds these "Description" sections, which completely confound the reader as to whether he is writing of the past or present. His stay at Three Saints' Bay is mentioned in two paragraphs! Had he maintained a better

could testify that the Russians had not yet established a permanent settlement in Prince William Sound, but it must have been apparent to him, but more to Mondofia and Serantes who had been there in 1788, that the Russian juggernaut was moving steadily southward.

He deserves simultaneous praise and criticism for other aspects of his voyage. His expertise in mapmaking and place naming has reserved him a place in Alaska history. Fidalgo, similar to Cook, named everything in his sight. He then, in turn, composed maps of the areas he visited. His place names seen on today's maps are a testimony to his excellence in that field. However, Fidalgo was not perfect. He spent too much time in Cook Inlet, a total of thirty-three days. He could have utilized them in a more meaningful way. His journal, especially during his stay in that waterway, is sketchy and in many ways contributes nothing to the study of flora, fauna, native cultures, and geography.

Perhaps most important, his failure, along with Arteaga and Martinez, to reconnoiter the coastline back to Nootka, necessitated the dispatch of yet another expedition. Although the British had been chipping away at the coastline, no one knew of its true intricacy. The Spanish had not ascertained the insularity of *Bucareli Bay*. Perhaps a transcontinental passageway hid itself somewhere in those labyrinthine waterways. If it did, it was a liability to the Spanish, especially after losing exclusivity to the coast at the Nootka Convention.

journal and elaborated a little better, scholars would have little problem extrapolating his true route.

After the Martinez and Fidalgo expeditions it had become apparent to the Spanish government that its claims in the Far North Pacific were becoming more untenable. The Russians had already established themselves in a way the Spanish never could. The simple reason for this is that the Russians moved eastward through the work of profit-hungry private entrepreneurs. The Spanish did not. In truth, the Iberian nation now only worried about its sovereignty east of Prince William Sound and the uncovering of the three apocryphal straits: Maldonado, Fonte, and Juan de Fuca. Similar to Montesclaros two hundred years earlier, it prayed the straits would not be discovered, for a quicker route to the Northwest Coast for her enemies would increase the vessels in the area. The Nootka officers, along with the British, slowly unmasked Juan de Fuca, but the other two remained undiscovered. So important was it for Spain to ascertain their existence, they re-routed the most comprehensive, expert-laden expedition of the era to investigate one of those straits. Alejandro Malaspina commanded it.

Chapter VIII

The Uncovering of the Straits.

Malaspina and Maldonado

The scientific voyages of James Cook and Comte de La Perouse, imbued with the ideals of the Enlightenment, motivated Spain to launch its own similar expedition. No doubt seeing the success of both voyages, and its subsequent enhancement by the death of their captains, Spain realized the importance of such an expedition. If the Iberian nation boasted of being one of the top nations in Europe, it demanded that its expedition, match or even surpass the accomplishment of the latter two. Spain wanted to put itself on the map as an advanced and enlightened power after years of attempting to discard its obscurantist reputation.

Geopolitics and the desire to advance scientific knowledge gave impulse to the voyage. By assembling scientists of the highest caliber, Spain would report on each region's geography, mineral resources, and commercial possibilities as well as conduct astronomical and geodesic experiments.²⁰² Much like the well-touted Billings and Mulovskii projects, this expedition would assess the strength and weaknesses of Spain's remote holdings and thwart any efforts by its rivals to obtain colonial possession at its

²⁰²Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 118.

expense. Encyclopedic in nature; botanical, mineral, ethnographical, and astronomical information on the far-flung empire would be gathered, cataloged, and housed in the Royal Natural History Collection.²⁰³ Such a comprehensive approach to all disciplines exemplified the very essence of the Enlightenment.

Carlos III and Minister of the Marines Valdes gave Alejandro Malaspina command of this important expedition. Malaspina, an Italian, was born in Parma in 1754. Although located in northern Italy, Carlos's brother ruled the duchy and thus belonged to the greater Spanish dominion. From noble lineage, Alejandro was not the eldest son, and since the laws of primogeniture dictated all fortune went to this son, he chose to make his fortune in the navy. His affability and family fortune guaranteed his rapid promotion through the ranks. In 1784, as captain of the *Astrea*, he performed a circumnavigation of the globe, and this, no doubt, elevated his reputation as a fine navigator and born leader.²⁰⁴ Only thirty-four when the government approved his plan for a definitive survey of all Spanish realms, Malaspina became the darling of Spain and its lascivious queen, Maria Luisa.

His crew, vessels, and instruments impressed even the most cynical. Since the voyage lasted five years, sailor retention was low. However, while on the Northwest Coast he assembled some of the most outstanding men of their field. His co-commander, Jose Bustamente y Guerra, was perhaps the most renowned naval officer in Spain.

²⁰³Palau, "Presence," p. 64.

Among others, the expedition featured Tadeo Haenke, a Bohemian naturalist, and Tomas de Suria, a noted artist. Those onboard possessed the most advanced scientific instruments of the day. The Spanish navy constructed the sloops *Descubierta* and *Atrevida* just for the expedition.²⁰⁵

Upon arrival to New Spain, Malaspina received new orders for his course of action. Originally, the sloops were to undertake a three-month survey of the Hawaiian Islands during the summer of 1791. The Ministry of the Indies suggested that destination, for it wanted to place an official claim over the archipelago, which according to legend, had been frequented by Manila galleons during the sixteenth century. The high frequency of foreign vessels visiting the said islands in the previous two decades necessitated an official visit by the Spanish. Naturally, the weary sailors looked forward to a pleasant respite in Hawaii.²⁰⁶

Instead emergency orders dispatched by Madrid notified Malaspina that his summer would be spent in a different climate. The notion of Maldonado Strait had haunted the minds of cartographer and government officials alike. Three years earlier the

²⁰⁴Cutter, *Malaspina*, p. 4.

²⁰⁵As seen, world events in the interlude between the voyage's departure from Spain to its arrival in Mexico altered significantly. While the vessels left Cadiz on 30 July 1789, Martinez apprehended British officers in Nootka and the Parisians stormed the Bastille. The expedition embarked during a time of peace, but by their entrance to the Pacific, the British threatened war and the *ancien regime* in France teetered on extinction. En route Malaspina called on Uruguay, Patagonia, Islas Malvinas, Juan Fernandez Islands, Chile and Peru.

²⁰⁶*Ibid.*, p. 6.

publication of Maldonado's voyage once again sparked controversy and discussion in all European capitals. While the *Descubierta* was on the open sea, the reputed geographer, Philippe Buache, endorsed the mysterious account as legitimate. Even Malaspina supported its authenticity. Valdes then dispatched a communiqué directly to Mexico to intercept Malaspina. The new instructions ordered the Parmesan to venture to 60°N, the alleged opening of the said passage, to ascertain its existence.²⁰⁷

By 1791, Madrid had installed Conde de Revillagigedo and Bodega as Viceroy of New Spain and Commandant of San Blas, respectively. The latter worked laboriously on maps and charts to guide Malaspina in a region the Parmesan knew little about and possessed absolutely no experience navigating. In truth, Bodega used the well-equipped, well-manned expedition to uncover what his San Blas officers had not been able to uncover for the last seventeen years. New orders dictated Malaspina's revised course: to sail directly to 60°N (presumably Prince William Sound), coast east toward Mount St. Elias, then south to chart the complex coastline of what would become southeast Alaska, down to Nootka.²⁰⁸ The fact that such orders originated in Madrid, and not in Mexico, illustrates the royal government's determination to finally unveil the coastline.

The vessels departed Acapulco on 1 May 1791 and by 23 June sighted land. They did not sight Prince William Sound first; instead, they viewed Bodega's *San Jacinto*

²⁰⁷Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 307.

Mountain and Cape *Engaño*, today's Mt. and Cape Edgecumbe at 57°N. Thomas de Suria described it as "very broken and mountainous land, with some peaks and points very sharp and unequal, the summits of which were covered with snow, just like the mountain on the cape."²⁰⁹ The Italian attempted to revisit Bodega's ports of *Remedios* and *Guadalupe*, but decided to veer away from the coast to achieve a higher latitude. On 24 June he sighted Cook's Mt. Fairweather, creatively renaming it *Buen Tiempo*.

Three days later, the sloops entered a large body of water, which they hoped would be Maldonado Strait. Indeed, this said body of water was located at 60°N. Suria described the emotion, "Transported with joy our commander steered towards the opening...determined to anchor in the port of Mulgrave, discovered in the year 1787 by Dixon, and from there with the boats of the two corvettes, which are [properly] equipped to reconnoiter this entrance."²¹⁰ Dixon named his anchorage Mulgrave but did not venture enough into the large bay to verify if it was truly a passage to the Atlantic. Upon the dissipation of the clouds and the revealing vista of the large bay, Suria exclaimed,

Great was the joy of the commander and all the officers because they believed, and with some foundation, that this might be the much-desired and sought-for strait, which would form a passage to the North Sea of Europe and which has cost so much trouble to all the nations in various expeditions which they have made for

²⁰⁸Palau, "Presence," p. 67.

²⁰⁹Cutter, *Malaspina*, p. 22.

²¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 25. George Dixon named Port Mulgrave after the Lord of the British Admiralty and Second Baron Mulgrave, Constantine John Phipps. Today Port Mulgrave lies south of Khantaak Island, and a small peninsula jutting out near the town of Yakutat is named Phipps.

simply this end, and for the discovery of which a great reward has been offered.²¹¹

The expedition remained over a month in Yakutat Bay gathering specimens, conducting experiments, making sketches and trading with the natives.

As with Arteaga in *Bucareli Bay* in 1779, the Tlingits gave the Spaniards some trouble. At first a little apprehensive, the natives later overwhelmed the sailors during trade. They sought pieces of iron, clothes, baubles, and any other Western objects. Scientists, conducting experiments onshore, feared for their lives when the natives accosted them, brandishing daggers.²¹² The firing of the cannon only temporarily paralyzed the covetous natives. Malaspina feared an incidence of thievery would precipitate an ambush as seen by Bodega six years earlier.

Despite the activity of the scientists and traders, Malaspina's prime intention was to discern the fabled Maldonado Strait. On 2 July, two launches, provisioned for fourteen days, departed their anchorage to investigate promising openings. {Color Map 11, p. 249} Led by Malaspina himself, one launch ascended the coast to nearby Icy Bay. Though the strait did not manifest itself, the crew conducted scientific and geodesic studies there. There in Icy Bay, Malaspina observed a large glacier to the east, a glacier later named Malaspina, (59°42'30"N) in honor of the Parmesan.²¹³

²¹¹ Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 307. Taken from Suria's "*Quaderno*," pp. 246-247.

²¹² Archer, "Russians," p. 141.

²¹³ It is likely today's Icy Bay did not exist in its present form back in 1791. A product of receding

Upon their return to the corvettes, the officers placed their hopes in the far-reaching Yakutat Bay. While rowing northeast they encountered a Tlingit man who offered to guide them. As they pushed farther inland, the Spaniards felt their hope trickle away. “The very little strength of the tide and all the answers given by the new Ankau [Tlingit chief] convinced us not only that the desired strait did not exist in this area, but also that this canal was very short and that we had just about come to the end of it.”²¹⁴ They sighted a giant glacier calving large chunks of ice at the end of the passageway. Since it was cloudy, doubts remained whether the passage was closed or not. One seaman, no doubt impelled by foolishness or aggrandizement, broke away from the party to scale a large hill so he might see eastward for a great distance. Alas, he saw its terminus.²¹⁵

Despite finally disproving Maldonado’s Strait, Malaspina took possession of Yakutat Bay for Spain. He performed the ritual, not before naming the inlet from where he assessed the futility of the passage. He named the inlet, *Bahia del Desengaño*, which is the antonym of deceit (engaño), for it unequivocally removed any hopes and doubts that Yakutat Bay was the entrance to a passageway.²¹⁶ Today it is translated into *Disenchantment Bay* (59°55’N). The island where Malaspina took possession in

Guyot Glacier, today’s bay likely came into existence 50-100 years ago.

²¹⁴Cutter, *Malaspina*, p. 39. At the time Hubbard Glacier reached Haenke Island thus blocking Russell Fiord from the open sea. Perhaps the fiord did not even exist at the time.

Disenchantment Bay was named in honor of the naturalist *Haenke* (59°58'N). A point at Yakutat Bay's entrance is named *Muñoz* (59°35'10''N). Upon making charts of the terminus, the party returned to the anchored corvettes in Port Mulgrave.

Whereas their activities in Yakutat Bay may be considered significant due to the debunking of the said passage, the remainder of Malaspina's voyage in Alaska was a failure. {Color Map 12, p. 250} On 5 July the vessels left Yakutat Bay en route to Prince William Sound. They sighted Cook's Cape Suckling, which he translated into *Cabo Chupador*. Soon afterwards he sighted Kayak Island, named Kaye Island by Cook and *Carmen* Island by Arteaga. Strangely, he insisted naming the island Kaye, not *Carmen*.²¹⁷ Furthermore off of Prince William Sound, he named present-day Cape Hinchinbrook, already named *Cabo de Español* by Arteaga, *Cabo Arcadio*. Despite possessing Bodega's maps, perhaps the Italian simply ignored older Spanish toponyms in lieu of his own, or mistook certain discovered landmarks as not being yet discovered.

Malaspina allegedly attempted a passage into the commodious sound, but strong winds and perhaps self-satisfaction defeated him. The *Descubierta* suffered a minor accident here, for the wind snapped the yard arm of the topgallant at its base. Worried about the snap and frustrated with his attempts to enter Prince William Sound, Malaspina,

²¹⁵Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 308.

²¹⁶Cutter, *Malaspina*, p. 40.

²¹⁷Wagner, *Cartography*, p. 227.

“resolved to sheer off and content himself with having reached the entrance of *Principe Guillermo* and thus exceeding the order of the court which had commanded him to up to 60°N latitude. Here we were in 61°N and some minutes, [and] the season was advanced.”²¹⁸ Interestingly, he was no where near 61°N, barely even piercing 60°. Thus Malaspina turned away from the sound en route to Nootka .

Southward he stayed close to the shore for a while, but eventually foul weather deterred him. He sighted three openings along the coast that he named *Ensenada de Castilla*, *Entrada de Aragon*, and *Bahia de Palma*. (58°23'N) The location of the first two is unknown.²¹⁹ He noticed two lights onshore, one near Cross Sound, the other near Bodega's *Remedios* Port. Fog immediately enveloped the vessels and prevented them from investigating *Bucareli Bay*. Afterwards heavy storms precluded any charting of Dixon Entrance and the eastern shore of the Queen Charlotte Archipelago.²²⁰ They stumbled into Nootka on 10 August 1791.

Upon the completion of his voyage in 1795, Malaspina determined to enact reforms in the colonies. He wrote a report condemning Spain's policy of secrecy on the Northwest Coast. He firmly believed that upon hearing news of Russian penetration in the 1760's, Spain should have sailed directly to Kamchatka for complete information on

²¹⁸Cutter, *Malaspina*, p. 66.

²¹⁹Orth, *Dictionary*, p. 589. He believed *Entrada de Aragon* is present-day Lituya Bay.

²²⁰Cutter, *Malaspina*, p. 70. Cook inaccurately posited that the expedition visited Bucareli Bay.

Russian activities and to procure a treaty giving reciprocal rights in the North Pacific. He noted that the five expeditions to the Far North accomplished little vis-à-vis Spanish claims. He states,

A few crosses planted solemnly in places concerning which we did not know even whether they were islands or continents, and whether they were inhabited or not, dazzled our political outlook with the agreeable prospect of new conquests....and believing that it was not necessary to revalidate them in a treaty, we ruined even this small utility of our voyages in the eyes of Europe, until, in 1788 we saw ourselves obliged to undertake once more the same explorations made in 1774.

His opinion of the Nootka Convention was no less controversial. He argued, “our rights versus other European powers, insofar as those coast and hinterlands are concerned, will be limited to demanding that no one possess them, without hesitating now as to whether this convention authorizes or invites us to assert custody.”²²¹ Malaspina’s claims are valid, for in many ways it felt as if Spain needed to ask permission to claim the Northwest Coast. The Italian suggested a border convention in which England, Spain, and Russia decide on boundaries for the area. All land east of Cook Inlet and north of Cape Mendocino in present-day northern California would be unclaimed by all parties. Only with notification of the other parties could one of the nations move into the unclaimed area. Malaspina’s word went far in the early 1790’s and perhaps if the government had not incarcerated him

Flood Tide, p. 309.

²²¹Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 317. Taken from Malaspina’s *Viaje*, pp. 366-67, AT.

in 1796 it would have implemented his reforms.²²²

Aside from refuting Buache's Maldonado Strait, Malaspina added little to reveal the Pacific Northwest. He did not discover any new lands and even worse, he forsook established Spanish place names for either his own or Cook's. No doubt he possessed both Cook's maps and those of Bodega but for whatever reason he did not adhere to those given by his countrymen. As with all the other Spanish voyages, he did not investigate the coast and at the first sign of trouble, he turned away from Prince William Sound. In terms of toponymy, he left a multitude of place names that unfortunately cannot be identified on present-day maps.²²³

However, one must give Malaspina some slack, for he was not experienced in northern waters. It must be reminded that his expedition was the only Alaskan one not outfitted by San Blas and thus its *raison d'être* was not exploration of the Far North Pacific. Investigation of Maldonado Strait was but only one segment of his six-year voyage. Perhaps this explains his lack of patience off of Prince William Sound.

Indubitably it was not his actual discoveries but his scientific accomplishments that make his expedition most memorable. The sketches of Felipe Bauza, the specimen

²²²The Queen's lover Manuel de Godoy was the man behind the Spanish throne at the time. His enemies hoped Malaspina would replace the incorrigible Godoy. The Italian was induced to write a letter denouncing Godoy and his tactics. Its discovery led to his hasty trial, six-year incarceration, and death in 1810. Ibid., pp. 319-320.

²²³*Punta de Barrientos, Puerto del Indio, Ensenada de Estremadura, Cabo San Elias, Punta Negra, Punta del Isla, Punta Arboleda, Ensenada de Castilla* to name but a few. List gathered from Wagner,

collection of Tadeo Haenke, and the illustrations of Tomas de Suria, among others, catapulted the Malaspina expedition to fame. Today it is generally considered the most comprehensive of all the Enlightenment expeditions, including those of Cook and La Perouse.

The Rendezvous of Bodega and Vancouver: The Limits Treaty of 1792

The signing of the Nootka Convention in 1790 by no means ended competition for the area. Each side possessed differing opinions over Article IV of the convention, "...British subjects shall not navigate nor carry on their fishery in the said seas within the distance of 10 maritime leagues from any part of the coast already occupied by Spain."²²⁴ Another article guaranteed the restitution of British land seized prior to April 1789. Combining the two articles gave England a distinct advantage, for Martinez constructed his settlement at Nootka in the summer of 1789 and thus ten leagues up to any Spanish settlement gave England access to the entire Northwest Coast down to the farthest north Spanish settlement in 1789: San Francisco. From maintaining claims at 60° in Alaska to now relinquishing its claim down to San Francisco was simply incomprehensible to Spain.

Each side appointed a commissioner to arbitrate the dispute. The Spanish

Cartography, p. 227.

²²⁴William Ray Manning, *The Nootka Sound Controversy* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1904), p. 455. Taken from Nootka Sound Convention, signed 28 October 1790.

designated the noble Commandant of San Blas Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra; while the English appointed George Vancouver.²²⁵ Although the two would not meet until the summer of 1792, the Spanish government notified Bodega as to how to approach the meeting.

While Bodega prepared for his encounter with the British representative at Nootka, he discovered how they viewed the coastline. One of his officers, while overseas, showed him a British map of the Northwest Coast dividing Spanish and English spheres of influence near San Francisco, no doubt “ten leagues” from it.²²⁶ The British had two reasons to mark the border there: one being the Nootka Convention, but the other more important being Drake’s act of possession for New Albion, north of San Francisco. Of course this map angered and worried Bodega, for at that moment he knew little would be resolved at the upcoming meeting. In no uncertain terms would Spain acquiesce to such a border.

The Search for Fonte’s Strait

Indubitably, Spanish naval activity on the Northwest Coast reached its zenith in 1792, for His Catholic Majesty boasted four simultaneous voyages to the Northwest Coast. The pertinent one being that of Jacinto Caamaño whose voyage into present-day

²²⁵Contemporaneous to Fidalgo’s endeavors, Vancouver sailed toward the Northwest Coast. Royal orders instructed the Englishman to sight land south of 40° (Drake’s New Albion) and chart up the coast toward Nootka. Upon nearing it, he decided to investigate Juan de Fuca Strait to acquire a better knowledge of the area before meeting the able Bodega.

southeast Alaska served as the last of the seven Spanish voyages to Alaskan waters.

Unlike the others, the Spanish by this time held no fantasy of possessing Prince William Sound or Cook Inlet. The 1788 and 1790 voyages demonstrated the inanity of attempting to displace the much-more entrenched Russians. Sheer curiosity impelled this expedition.

Like Malaspina, the Crown dispatched Caamaño to investigate the existence of Fonte Strait purported to be in the area of 53°N.²²⁷ Had it not been for the failure of Arteaga, Martinez, Fidalgo, and Malaspina the Spanish would not have needed to outfit this one. Repeatedly, viceregal orders demanded the charting of the coast from Yakutat Bay to Nootka. By 1792, largely due to the British, Madrid knew that a myriad of passageways, fjords, and bays dotted the coastline in that area. Finally, the Spanish created an expedition whose main goal was to solely decipher the coastline riddle.

Caamaño departed in consort with Bodega en route to Nootka. There, Bodega relayed the viceregal order of investigating the waters south of *Bucareli Bay* to Nootka. Such an order was apropos for if such a passageway existed, the news of a transcontinental waterway north of Nootka would have drastically altered the negotiations

²²⁶Wagner, *Cartography*, p. 251. Bodega to Revillagigedo, San Blas, 29 February 1792.

²²⁷Ironically, it was James Colnett, the protagonist of the Nootka Incident in 1789, who stirred the controversy. After his release from San Blas, he made a call on Nootka to query as to the location of his *Princess Royal*, one of the vessels seized by Martinez, and now employed by the Spanish. While at Nootka, he showed Commandant Francisco Eliza one of his maps of the coast, notifying the Spaniard that he discovered the entrance to Fonte Strait. Colnett, previous to his arrest, had charted the Queen Charlotte Archipelago in 1787, and in earnest could have seen a large opening convincing him of a passageway. Perhaps, he knew no such opening existed and enticed Eliza with the possibility of the strait to exact revenge on the Spanish for his

between Bodega and Vancouver. Therefore, while Bodega awaited Vancouver, and while the latter, charted the Strait of Georgia with Galiano and Valdes, Caamaño departed Nootka on 12 June.

Little is known of Caamaño's past. He was born in Madrid in 1759 to an aristocratic family probably from Galicia. He enlisted in the navy in 1777 and in Constantinople witnessed a peace treaty signed by the Ottoman Turks in 1784. Afterwards he served as an arsenal inspector in Cadiz, before being promoted to lieutenant, and dispatched to San Blas.²²⁸

It is laughable that even though San Blas was never as well funded, supplied, or manned as in 1792, it could not give Caamaño a better vessel to negotiate intricate waterways than a large packetboat. The slow, clumsy *Aranzazu*, was Caamaño's vessel for the voyage. To compensate for its deficiencies, he employed the use of pilot Juan Pantoja y Arriaga, veteran of the 1779 voyage to *Bucareli Bay*, and Juan Martinez y Zayas, veteran of Martinez's 1788 voyage.

The Madrileño's first destination was the once-prized harbor of *Bucareli*. {Color Map 13, p. 251} Galvez envisioned the spacious bay to be Spain's first settlement in the Far North Pacific. Caamaño arrived at *Bucareli Bay* on 24 June and anchored at *Port San Antonio*. He dispatched two longboats that for twenty days meticulously charted the inlets

detainment.

Mourelle missed in 1779. He named one of the larger islands *Suemez Island* for Conde de Revillagigedo, Don Juan Vicente de Guemes Pacheco de Pedilla. The pilot Pantoja no doubt proved useful in its charting. He noted in his journal that the eastern side of the bay was more fertile and suitable for settlement.²²⁹ Unlike the halcyon days of 1779, Arteaga spied two foreign vessels trading in the bay. He departed it on 17 July.

Caamaño then investigated the islands south of *Bucareli Bay* describing the islands as “an archipelago of infinite islands, large and small.” On 18 July he examined and sketched a map of *Port Baylio Bazan* (54°49’N) on the western side of Dall Island, and a few days later rounding the island, he named its southern point *Muñoz Goosens*, (54°39’50’’N) displacing Perez’s *Santa Magdalena* and Bodega’s *San Augustine*.²³⁰ He sailed across the Dixon Entrance and anchored off of a port he named Floridablanca, somewhere off Langara Island. Afterwards he returned to Alaskan waters, this time to the east of Dall Island. He named the bay, *Cordova* (54°41’N).²³¹

Afterwards it is difficult to determine Caamaño’s exact course. The point northeast of Cape Muzon he named *Nuestra Señora de los Dolores*. Perhaps this is somewhere in Kaigani Strait, between Dall and Long Islands. In the afternoon of the same

²²⁸Pilar de San Pio, *Expediciones*, p. 237.

²²⁹Ibid., p. 240.

²³⁰Wagner, *Cartography*, p. 234. He states that Malaspina initially discovered Muñoz Goosens, but this can not be true since he did not touch Alaskan land until *Cabo de Engaño* near Kruzof Island.

²³¹It is this *Cordova Bay* that guaranteed the replacement of the other *Cordova Bay* (Orca Bay) in Prince William Sound. Like the other one, it is named for the General-Captain of the Armada Luis de Córdoba

day, he reached a body of water he named *Nuestra Señora del Carmen*, perhaps Clarence Strait.²³² He named the small port and the cape at the western entrance of Clarence Strait on the southern promontory of Prince of Wales Island, *Chacon* (54°41'30''N). To its west, he named a tiny point *Nuñez* (54°41'05''N). He stated that *Punta Evia* and *Cabo Caamaño* lay at the opening of *Nuestra Señora del Carmen*. Bad weather pushed him back across Dixon Entrance into present-day Canada.

It is important to note that Caamaño's activities in this *Nuestra Señora del Carmen*, or Clarence Strait, remain unclear. According to a British surgeon's journal, Archibald Menzies, the Madrileño told the surgeon that he sailed up the strait for one hundred miles, believing it to be Fonte's Strait. Perhaps during this investigation, he either named a nearby channel Revillagigedo, or he sailed east of Clarence Strait, around Annette Island and named present-day *Revillagigedo Channel* (54°48'N). Various sources do not even mention these investigations east of Clarence Strait, so it is possible, however remote, that Caamaño was never in the Spanish-named channel. After searching south of 54°40'N, he returned to Nootka on 7 September 1792, thus informing Bodega, busy negotiating with Vancouver, that in all likelihood, Fonte's Strait did not exist.

Although arguably not as important as Fidalgo or Martinez's expeditions, Jacinto

y Córdoba. Ironically, *Cordova Bay* is not included in the Dictionary of Alaska Place Names.

²³²Pilar de San Pio, *Expediciones*, p. 242. It seems unlikely that a vessel could sail across Dixon Entrance in the morning, enter Kaigani Strait, cruise through *Cordova Bay* around *Cape Chacon* to reach

Caamaño served his country valuably in that he debunked the final apocryphal strait. He devotes much of his journal commenting on the customs of the Haida, not on hydrography or geography. Thus explains the difficulty in locating his ports. His place names have weathered the capriciousness of history, despite the brevity of his voyage. The same could not be said of Martinez's voyage, whose place names have all vanished from Alaskan maps.

While en route to California, the information accrued during Caamaño's voyage must have elated and disheartened Bodega simultaneously. The Madrileño proved the insularity of *Bucareli Bay*, thus taking away much of its strategic value. This no doubt hurt the Limeño, for he and Mourelle originally discovered the bay in 1775. Conversely, by fall 1792 Maldonado, Fonte, and Juan de Fuca Straits had all been debunked as transcontinental passageways. This probably brought him much relief, for a defense of such a passageway would have been impossible for the retreating Spanish empire.

The year 1792 brought much activity for the Spanish. In total eight of His Catholic Majesty's vessels plied the waters off the Pacific Northwest. To illustrate the sudden withdrawal of the Spanish from these waters, only half that number visited the area the following year and within four years, none would visit its shores.²³³ Bodega arrived at Nootka ready to relinquish the port altogether for a defined border at Juan de Fuca, but

Clarence Strait by the afternoon.

the intransigence of the British representative guaranteed the fate of Nootka would be decided in the capitals of their respective countries. While Bodega's convoy sailed home and into probable oblivion, that British representative was only beginning his explorations. However, this was not a voyage the Spanish would want to thwart, for this was the one that guaranteed that Alaskans of today would be privy to Iberian exploits in the North Pacific.

The Redeemer of San Blas

If Cook gave a rough outline to the Alaskan subcontinent, Vancouver served as the crayon to fill in the coast. Despite his success, Caamaño only charted the Dixon Entrance area, but at least he succeeded where every other Spanish expedition had failed. Vancouver surpassed his work by charting the entire Alaskan panhandle, Cook Inlet, and Prince William Sound. The people of the Northwest no doubt should laud the Englishman, for he is the primary source of a multitude of place names in British Columbia, Washington, and Alaska.

By 1789 the British government prepared to dispatch the follow-up to Cook's groundbreaking expedition. One must remember that most of the aforementioned British sailors were private entrepreneurs, even though many were retired Royal Navy officers. The Nootka Convention and its need to send a plenipotentiary to the harbor to finalize

²³³Cook, *Flood Tide*, Appendix E.

negotiations only expedited Vancouver's embarkation.

Ostensibly, his primary objective was to rendezvous with Bodega to discuss the fine points of the agreement. Although important, paramount to his perfunctory diplomatic function, Vancouver was to achieve no less than the exploration and surveying of the entire North American coast from 30° to 60° N. Within this covert objective, he was to acquire information concerning the possibility of a transcontinental passage, and assess the situation and age of all European settlements on the coast, especially those of His Catholic Majesty.²³⁴ His two vessels, the *Discovery*, and the smaller *Chatham* departed England on 1 April 1791.²³⁵ Among the most notable onboard were the surgeon Archibald Menzies, James Johnstone, Peter Puget, and Joseph Whidbey.

The friendship cultivated by Bodega and Vancouver engendered a sense of openness concerning cartography of the area. Even prior to his departure, Vancouver was told to freely exchange cartographic information with the Spanish, as illustrated in the joint mapping of the Strait of Georgia by Vancouver, Valdes, and Galiano.²³⁶ Such an openness benefited Vancouver's voyage, for while at the convention Bodega, Fidalgo, and others told the Englishman of their exploits in the Far North.

²³⁴Gough, *Dominion*, p. 118.

²³⁵At the time of departure, George Vancouver was only thirty-four years old. He was born into a middle-class Norfolk England family in 1757. He became a "young gentleman of the quarterdeck" at fourteen and by 1771 was serving on Cook's *Resolution*. Ibid., p. 117.

²³⁶Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 334. Vancouver was to make "reciprocally a free and unreserved communication of all plans and charts of discovery."

Speaking of Caamaño, the Madrileño returned from his reconnaissance during the meeting . Both Vancouver and Menzies mention in their journals that Caamaño gave them a map of his expedition. Menzies, mentions on 8 September 1792,

A Spanish frigate named *Aranzazu* commanded by Lt. Comano [sic] arrivd in the cove from the northward where she had been on a surveying expedition.... Opposite the north end of the isles they enterd a large inlet going to the northeast ward which they conceivd to be the Straits of Admiral de Fonte, & traced it as far as 55°30'N latitude, where its capaciousness had so little diminished, that there were reasons to conclude from appearance that it must penetrate a considerable way inland.²³⁷

No source alludes to this piercing of Clarence Strait by the Spaniard. Repeatedly throughout his journal, Vancouver alludes to Caamaño's charts in areas where the Spaniard had not been.

Now that he served his official function, Vancouver went about meticulously charting the large archipelago, now known today as Alexander. In fact, he charted many of the same areas Caamaño had done the year before. In the latter half of July 1793, the vessels had perused the Queen Charlotte Islands and now anchored at Observatory Inlet, near Portland Channel on the Alaska-British Columbia Border.

On 27 July Vancouver himself led a two-week investigation of the southern extremity of Alaskan waters. {Color Map 13, p. 251} In a launch, he ascended the entire Portland Canal; on his return he entered the southern entrance of the Canal of

²³⁷ Archibald Menzies, *Menzies Journal of Vancouver's Voyage, April To October, 1792*, ed. C.F.

Revillagigedo (54°48'N) In fact he sailed up the channel and to his right he spied an entrance to an inlet, sailed a few miles into it, and then turned around back into the channel. This long inlet he named Boca de Quadra (54°04'N) no doubt in honor of his dear friend.²³⁸ There at the entrance of Behm Canal, named for the Governor of Kamchatka during Cook's 1779 visit, and Revillagigedo Channel, he named its point, Alava (55°11'30''N) for the new Commandant of Nootka Jose Manuel de Alava. He subsequently sailed the entire circular Behm Canal.

Vancouver's practice of applying Spanish place names continued. He honored four men employed by His Catholic Majesty. Upon the confluence of Behm Canal and Clarence Strait, he named its western cape, Caamaño (55°30'N). To the south of that he named the two northernmost points of a nearby island, Vallenar (55°25'35''N) and Higgins (55°27'28''N), after the governor of Chile, Don Ambrosio O'Higgins de Vallenar.²³⁹ He states that these points lay on Revillagigedo Channel.²⁴⁰ He refers to this nearby island as Gravina (55°17'N), named for the Spanish Admiral, Federico Gravina .

Newcombe (Victoria: Archives of British Columbia, 1923), pp. 120-121.

²³⁸George Vancouver, *Voyage of Discover to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World*, 4 vols. (London: G.G. and J. Robinson, 1798) Reprinted: New York: De Capo Press, 1967, pp. 349-350. Orth and Wagner simply state, "Spanish name meaning estuary of Quadra given in 1792 by Caamaño...this name was adopted by Capt. George Vancouver, who explored this estuary on August 6, 1793," p. 785, p. 404 respectively. The author does not question Vancouver's exploration of it, but questions Caamaño's.

²³⁹Ibid., p. 365-367. Today a Vallenar Bay and South Cape Vallenar exist as well.

²⁴⁰Vancouver's Revillagigedo Channel stretched from Dixon Entrance to north of Gravina Island at the juncture of Behm Canal and Clarence Strait. It included today's Tongass Narrows, the body of water the city of Ketchikan fronts.

It is unclear whether or not he named it or if he just used Caamaño's name for the island.²⁴¹

Coming out of Behm Canal, he viewed a large strait ascending for tens of miles northward. This was Caamaño's *Nuestra Señora del Carmen*, the passage as mentioned in Menzies journal, which the Madrileño believed to be the only possible Fonte Strait. Vancouver mentions that in Caamaño's chart it is named *Estrecho de Almirante Fuentes y Entrada de Nuestra Señora del Carmen*. The Englishman renamed it Duke of Clarence Strait. Upon farther reconnaissance he discerned that it was not in fact a transcontinental passageway, but instead of large strait penetrating the archipelago.

Also upon leaving Behm Canal Vancouver realized what he perceived to be a peninsula was in fact an island. He states,

On this occasion I cannot avoid a repetition of my acknowledgments for the generous support we received from Señor Quadra, acting under the orders of the Conde de Revilla Gigedo, Viceroy of New Spain...in commemoration therefore of

²⁴¹Orth, Wagner, Palau, Pilar de San Pio, and every other source never mention Caamaño's activity east of Clarence Strait. In terms of Revillagigedo Island and Channel, Wagner and Palau do not mention it all while Orth states, "named in 1792 by Jacinto Caamaño." Your author has not been able to find any conclusive proof that Caamaño was actually at this location. Perhaps the British explorer George Vancouver named the channel after making the assumption that Caamaño was in this actual channel and not another one. Revillagigedo Island, as Orth states, "Named August 13, 1793 by Captain George Vancouver for Don Juan Vincente de Guemes Pacheco de Pedilla, Count of Revillagigedo and Viceroy of Mexico, 1789-94." He {Vancouver} was no doubt influenced by the fact that Caamaño the year before had given the name to an adjoining channel." Robin Fisher, *Vancouver's Voyage: Charting the Northwest Coast, 1791-1795* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1992), p. 66. This author only mentions Revillagigedo in terms of a Native attack on an island. Regardless, it is unclear to the author whether or not Caamaño ever sailed in *Revillagigedo Channel*. Similar to Boca de Quadra, did Vancouver honor Caamaño with a place name Caamaño had not even seen! Even the author's veritable Spanish source, Pilar de Pio's *Expediciones*, prominent scholar of the Museo Naval, does not mention Caamaño's exploration of either Boca or Revillagigedo.

the excellency's very kind attention, I have not only adopted the name of the canal after that nobleman, but have further distinguished the land to the north of it by the name of the Island of Revillagigedo.²⁴²

Today Revillagigedo Island (55°35'N) is the third largest in Alaska and boasts the town of Ketchikan. Once again, Vancouver selflessly named another landmark in the honor of the man who dispatched his friend Bodega.

The tandem vessels left Alaskan waters for the winter. The following year the captain decided to reconnoiter the most-northern reaches of the Gulf of Alaska. By 20 May, the *Discovery* had charted the Kodiak Archipelago and, like his mentor, the entire Cook Inlet. On said date they sighted Montague Island of Prince William Sound. {Color Map 14, p. 255} Vancouver decided to anchor at Port Chalmers, Martinez's *Port Flores*. From there he ordered two survey parties to investigate the entire sound. Vancouver ordered Whidbey to begin on the west coast and work his way north and east while Johnstone was to begin at Cook's Snug Corner Cove (northeast part of the sound in Fidalgo Arm) and work his way south toward the sound's exit. The methodical method of charting the sound unquestionably facilitated its accomplishment.

Whidbey's survey of the western side of the sound is not pertinent, for the Spanish never ventured into that area, aside from Martinez and Fidalgo's cursory investigation of its southwest segment. However, after his meticulous work of the western side, Whidbey

²⁴²Vancouver, *Voyage*, pp. 367-368. Journal entry from 13 August 1793.

worked his way east toward the northernmost point of Prince William Sound. En route, the Englishman erased the Spanish place names of *Isla de Quadra*, *Bahia de Revillagigedo*, and *Isla de Conde* from existence. He sailed up *Valdez Arm* all the way to the present town with that name. He later rendezvoused with Johnstone in Port Fidalgo.

Contemporaneous with Whidbey, Johnstone began his surveying at Port Fidalgo.

When Johnstone later spoke to Vancouver after the survey, the captain mentioned

This spacious inlet, and particularly its northeasterly part, had been visited by Señor Fidalgo in the year 1790... This gentleman paid much attention to geographical objects, and gave names to several places. His inquiry having been made prior to our survey, I have continued the names so given, but as his own does not appear amongst the number, I have, in order that his labours may be commemorated, distinguished this branch by the name of Port Fidalgo.²⁴³

Vancouver replaced Fidalgo's *Mazarredo* by naming the port in his honor. As stated, Fidalgo did not anchor in *Port Gravina* as previously believed, but instead in Snug Corner Cove in Port Fidalgo. *Mazarredo* was a name given by the Spaniard for just the tiny cove inside Port Fidalgo, today's Two Moon Bay.

Throughout the eastern side of Prince William Sound, Vancouver and his officers viewed evidence of Fidalgo's expedition. On 29 May, Johnstone saw a marker left by the Spaniard in Port Fidalgo, thus proving Fidalgo was in fact in the inlet. Afterwards he continued his clockwise survey of the sound by entering *Port Gravina*, explored by Fidalgo's launches in 1790. Later on 6 June, Johnstone found on the north side of

Hinchinbrook Island, a cross that was inscribed, “Carolus IV. Hispan. Rex. An. 1790. P. D. Salvador Fidalgo.”²⁴⁴ This was likely Fidalgo’s third anchorage on the said island, in Double Bay. By 20 June, Vancouver sailed his vessel out of Prince William Sound and proceeded to chart the northern part of the Alexander Archipelago.

A number of questions must be answered concerning the relationship between Fidalgo and Vancouver. The two accomplished sailors met during the Limits Treaty of 1792 in Nootka and developed an friendly relationship. They could not communicate effectively in their native languages but could exchange information via coordinates and bearings. Once again the question must be raised, “Why is Fidalgo’s *Gravina* different than today’s *Port Gravina* (60°38’N)?” Perhaps Fidalgo lied to Vancouver and gave him Gravina’s coordinates to coincide with the arm below Port Fidalgo (60°47’N), because he did not want the Englishman to know that he in fact anchored in Cook’s Snug Corner Cove. If this is true than it is understandable why Johnstone thought the body of water he encountered at 60°38’N was *Gravina*, for those were the coordinates Fidalgo gave to Vancouver. If the Spaniard gave *Gravina*’s true location, then why would Vancouver name another inlet *Gravina* as well? From this evidence it is likely Fidalgo deceived Vancouver. Laughingly Vancouver’s adoption of *Port Gravina* found its way onto British

²⁴³Ibid., p. 163. Journal entry 8 June 1794.

²⁴⁴Ibid., p. 171. Journal entry 8 June 1794.

naval maps and immortality.²⁴⁵

But this controversy engenders another one. If Vancouver believed today's Port Gravina was Fidalgo's anchorage, why would he honor the Iberian by naming the inlet north of it after him? Even after finding the Spanish marker in Port Fidalgo why would Vancouver name the entire inlet Fidalgo when his mentor Cook first anchored in it twelve years before Fidalgo? Would he not honor his countryman and father figure over a Spanish acquaintance? Although Vancouver graciously retained many foreign place names or honored foreign dignitaries with them, he more often than not replaced them with his own. Choosing Fidalgo over Cook seems out of character for Vancouver.

George Vancouver's expedition to the Northwest Coast was an incredible feat of seamanship and navigation. {Color Map 15, p. 253} He single-handedly charted every large passageway from Cook Inlet to Dixon Entrance; indeed, his maps of the region surpassed all others up until the twentieth century. The Spanish government wanted to extract from its sailors for two decades the same type of accomplishment as Vancouver. Sadly, it took Vancouver one voyage what took the Spanish seven. This indeed lends testimony to Vancouver's greatness.²⁴⁶

One must also laud his use of Spanish place names. Juxtapose the place naming of

²⁴⁵Patrick, *Fidalgo*, pp. 235-240, 398.

²⁴⁶One must also mention his incredible exploits in charting Vancouver Island and the British Columbian coast as well.

Cook with that of Vancouver. Cook employed Mourelle's 1775 journal during his voyage. Upon reaching present-day Kruzof Island, he could have easily deferred to the said pilots place names of *Cape Engaño and Mount San Jacinto*. Instead he erased those names and replaced it with his Cape and Mount Edgecumbe, names that still prevail today.

Vancouver not only deferred to previous Spanish discoveries, but willingly named landmarks in honor of them. Revillagigedo Island, Boca de Quadra, Alava, Vallenar, and Higgins Point and Port Fidalgo were all named in honor of these respective individuals. Furthermore, the Englishman could have easily replaced the Spanish nomenclature in Prince William Sound with that of his own. Instead he respected Fidalgo's previous charting by leaving them intact.

Contrary to Spanish policy, Spanish officials unquestionably helped preserve these names by befriending Vancouver and speaking openly about their own findings. Had Bodega and Vancouver rapprochement gone badly, it seems unlikely the latter would name bodies of water after him. Such an example of free exchange of information quickly invalidates Spain's long policy of secrecy, for had the Spanish published their information and freely gave it to all of those who inquired, more of their names would remain today.

In no way should George Vancouver be deified as the preserver of all Spanish place names. No doubt grateful for preserving some of their names, the Spanish lost many of them because of him. Vancouver chose to respect only a small fraction of them. For every one place name he kept, he discarded dozens. Vancouver's fantastic charting of

Alaskan waters guaranteed his toponyms would remain, and thus relegating all of those Spanish place names not adopted by him to oblivion.

Spain's policy on the Northwest Coast of America changed during Vancouver's four-year voyage. Upon his departure from England, Spain could boast of the amount of traffic off the California coast. As stated, 1792 featured the largest amount of Spanish vessels on the coast. By the time of Vancouver's return in 1795, Spain's policy toward Nootka and all lands north shifted drastically from asserting claims to acquiescing to British demands. By then the "defensive defensive" was in full gear, best illustrated by the abandonment of Nootka in 1795.

Spanish Ebb

Various leading Spanish officials opined as to the future of Spanish activity on the Northwest Coast. Now that the three apocryphal straits had been debunked, Russian penetration had spread, and British and American shipping had increased, the question of whether or not to continue Nootka and exploration of the area rose to prominence.

As stated, Bodega felt that the continuation of Nootka and exploratory activity was vital, even in such meager conditions, for any withdrawal would be blood in the eyes of Anglo sharks. If the settlement folded, then, in theory, the Northwest Coast up to San Francisco would be open to all. Bodega knew this could not happen. He recommended after his meeting with Vancouver in 1792 to expand Spanish settlements up the coast.

Despite his urging, various other naval officers and ministers felt differently.

Viceroy Revillagigedo asked Dionisio Galiano and Cayetano Valdes, upon their return from charting the Juan de Fuca Strait, their opinion of Spanish activities in the area. Galiano believed the Iberians should continue to explore every possible inlet and fjord in search of the coveted Atlantic passageway. Valdes suggested a cessation of activities propounding that the likelihood of a transcontinental strait was slim and that the continuing voyages of Vancouver would satiate any scientific purpose to reconnoiter the area.²⁴⁷

Other people freely expressed their opinion on the matter. Bodega's assistant at the Limits Treaty, Felix de Cepeda, advised against any settlements north of San Francisco. He contended that the costs for such an endeavor would be too high and that it could precipitate another conflict with the burgeoning British sea merchants. Any settlement the Spanish constructed would be open to the British, he reasoned, due to the Nootka Convention's stipulation of open seas up to ten leagues from the farthest north Spanish settlement prior to April 1789. Any settlement would assist the Anglo's waxing commercial domination of the area.

Perhaps one of the most persuasive opponents of expansion came from Jose de Mozino's *Noticias de Nutka*. Mozino was present at the Limits Convention of 1792 and opined over Spain's future in the area. He apologized for his candor when he states,

²⁴⁷Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 400. Valdes's opinion on the matter is not shocking since Malaspina, his

“Up to now this establishment [Nootka] has not produced any advantage in favor of the crown, but, on the contrary, the enormous expenses it has had to pay out are notorious.”

He adds, “The security of our possessions in New Spain and California is neither assured more nor endangered less by our being owners of this island [Vancouver Island].”²⁴⁸ He urged the government to make California top priority.

Despite basking under Spanish control for almost thirty years, California was far from impervious to foreign attacks. The garrison at San Francisco boasted only fifteen soldiers and those of the capital, Monterey, thirty.²⁴⁹ A continued occupation of Nootka would only serve to dilute military strength on the coast and thus make all the settlements more susceptible to conquest. Furthermore, the presidios at the aforementioned locations could not repel a long-term siege.

After hearing these and other opinions, the viceroy drafted a history of the Department of San Blas and California. Summarizing all Spanish activity since the Sacred Expedition of 1769, Revillagigedo sent this missive to the new prime minister of Spain, the favorite Manuel de Godoy. His assessment follows,

From now on there ought to be [an end] of such projects as compel us to incur heavy expenses, even if they may be recommended with the most positive assurances of advantageous results, for it is always understood that these results are to be in the future, whereas the expenditures have to come out in cash from the

beloved commander, shared the same sentiment.

²⁴⁸José Mariano Mozino, *Noticias de Nutka: An Account of Nootka Sound in 1792*, trans. and ed. Iris Higbie Wilson (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970), pp. 93-94.

²⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 94.

treasury that is full of urgent matters requiring attention and that is constantly covering itself with considerable debt.²⁵⁰

He noted that Spain simply did not have the funds, vessels, and personnel to maintain such a large perimeter. He opposed any expeditions north of Juan de Fuca Strait, for he, like Cepeda, believed such an action would lead to another international imbroglio. The little money remaining should be used to dispatch vessels to bulwark the coastline south of the said strait. Revillagigedo forever prohibited any expeditions north to Alaska.

Similar to his predecessor Antonio Bucareli, Viceroy Revillagigedo was more concerned with budgetary constraints and political sycophancy vis-à-vis Godoy than boldly expanding Spanish interests in the area. It must be remembered that the Nootka Convention of 1790 only removed Spanish exclusivity of the area, not total claims to it. A whole list of possessions as early as 1775, and reaching up into 60° could be used to reinforce claims to the area if the Spanish so chose to do so. In fact, the Spanish were defeated more psychologically in Mexico City and Madrid, than physically or logistically on the Northwest Coast.

Various events precipitated the complete loss of Spanish claims down to California. An uncomfortable alliance with Great Britain forced Spain's hand concerning Nootka.²⁵¹ Even worse, the settlers of California became less dependent on San Blas and

²⁵⁰Bancroft, *California*, pp. 345-346. Revillagigedo to Godoy 12 April 1793.

²⁵¹Manning, *Controversy*, pp. 470-471. "Convention for the Mutual Abandonment of Nootka." With

Spain as a whole.²⁵² The nascent United States began to eclipse Great Britain as the greatest Anglo threat to the Spanish.²⁵³ Most horribly to those few guilty Spanish ministers still alive, Galvez's long fear of a Russian attack of California became much more palpable.²⁵⁴

In the eyes of Carlos IV's ministers' relinquishing claims to an area that had not yet produced tangible results was not such a loss. With its power once again on the wane, the impudent American government demanded a border demarcation for the entire North

the decapitation of Louis XVI in 1793, the French Revolution was in full stride. Spain and Great Britain went to war against Jacobin France. This union accelerated the need to resolve the Nootka issue. The two sides signed the Convention for the Mutual Abandonment of Nootka. By this time Prime Minister Godoy had received Revillagigedo's missive concerning the cessation of activity north of the Juan de Fuca Strait. The Queen's lover agreed with his sycophant that activities that far north were futile and wasteful. The agreement stipulated that neither Spain nor Great Britain could possess Nootka or any land for that matter without notifying the other party. The land north of California was open to anyone.

The Spanish government appointed Bodega to serve as representative to the lowering of the flag at Nootka. However, the heroic explorer died before the commission reached him. His successor, Jose Manuel de Alava, met the British representative at the beleaguered Spanish fort. As the smug British witnessed, Spain abandoned Nootka on 28 April 1795. Thus one of the largest flashpoints in eighteenth century history ended in such an anti-climactic fashion.

²⁵²Thurman, *San Blas*, p. 359. California itself began to bite the hand that fed it. After twenty-five years in existence, the missions became more self-sufficient due to the fertile San Joaquin Valley. Even more of a blow to San Blas pride, the Californians willingly allowed the smuggling of Anglo goods into their ports. This entry of British and American goods, coupled with better harvests, accelerated the independence of California and ensured the relegation and eventual abandonment of the Department of San Blas.

²⁵³Cook, *Flood Tide*, Appendix E. In fact America had its own legitimate claims to the Pacific Northwest: John Gray's discovery of the Columbia River (Entrada de Hezeta), the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1805, and John Jacob Astor's founding of Astoria on the Columbia River in 1811. An astounding three hundred American vessels had visited the Northwest Coast by 1825, compared to one hundred British, and a measly forty-three Spanish.

²⁵⁴Alekseev, *Destiny*, pp. 119-159. Shelikov's family received the monopoly it so desperately wanted when in 1799 Czar Paul I created the Russian America Company. Under the able command of general manager Alexander Baranov, the Russians founded a settlement at Yakutat Bay in 1796 and Sitka in 1799. Although the Tlingits forced the abandonment of the former and destroyed the latter, the Russians persevered. With reinforcements, Sitka was reestablished in 1804 and became the capital four years later. By 1812, the Russians, in need of fresh foodstuffs, established Fort Ross outside of San Francisco.

American continent. The resulting Adams-Onís (Transcontinental Treaty) Treaty of 1819 demarcated the line at 42°N, present-day border of California and Oregon. With it Spain forever forfeited all claims to Unalaska, Cook Inlet, Prince William Sound, Bucareli Bay, Nootka, and the entire coast north of said latitude. In turn the United States became heir to all Spanish discoveries and claims on the coast; conversely, Spain lost what had seemed apparent to all involved a long time ago: any pretentious claims to Alaska and the entire Northwest Coast.

CONCLUSION

The Spanish government, resuscitated during the enlightened reign of Charles III, now began a 200-year irreversible decline, which ultimately resulted in the loss of its entire empire. Within twenty-five years of Caamaño's voyage Spain lost all claims to the Pacific Northwest; within fifty years the United States bullied Spain's successor, Mexico, into relinquishing the coveted California. Thus, in only half-a-century, the Iberian nation went from claiming Prince William Sound, only five degrees from the Arctic Circle, to the hot desiccated lands of Sonora.

Various factors contributed to this rapid retreat. Throughout the entire twenty-five year period of exploration of the Northwest Coast, the Spaniards made no attempt to assess the actual land. To them, the sole intent was simply the establishment of ports to buffet foreign aggression. They never appreciated the land *per se*; nor ascertain the mineral resources or arable lands of the area. Despite it not being the wealthy *Quivera* or *Cibola*, the Northwest region boasted assets the Spanish could have used.

Furthermore José de Galvez was simply ahead of his time. His "Manifest Destiny" for the Spanish dominion from Tierra del Fuego to the Arctic neglected the geographic, cultural, and climactic disparities of the area. Much like with Torrubia's *Muscovites in California*, neither he nor Galvez realized the logistical problems posed by possessing

such a large amount of land. New Spain had neither the manpower nor the resources to colonize the entire western half of the continent. Its renewed vigor and assertiveness in international affairs ended with the death of Carlos III.

The Viceroy of New Spain, though renowned for their reforms, lacked Galvez's vision. Maintaining the budget always came before any possible long-term rewards. Though quite important, the continual need to manage funds enervated Galvez's costly dream, for all the viceroys worried over short-term needs rather than long-term gains. This undermined any chance of a true Spanish America.

Though a brilliant man, Galvez's choice of San Blas proved to be counterproductive. Its atrocious climate, voracious mosquitoes, and inadequate living conditions, undoubtedly, deterred many of the brightest officers. The ongoing controversy of whether or not to transfer the department not only stalled activities but stifled any feelings of continuity. Moreover, the department, even in times of peace, was drastically underfunded. During the two most pivotal periods in vying for the Pacific Northwest, 1773 and 1787, it was forced to send less than ideal sailors, Perez and Martinez. Why was it that Cook and Vancouver's voyages could last for years while Arteaga and Bodega's could only last for months? It involves not the expertise of the sailors but rather the outfitting and supplying of the vessels. Every expedition was undermanned and undersupplied.

The inability of the officers to follow commands forced the Spanish treasury to

finance more expeditions up the coast. Few if any followed the viceregal orders to its fullest, and most outright defied them. Most noticeable Arteaga, Martinez, Fidalgo, and Malaspina's refusal to adhere to the coast translated into costly expenditures for Spain. Had just one of those voyages followed its instructions and charted the coast from Alaska to San Francisco, then the debunking of the apocryphal straits would have occurred sooner, not to mention the countless discoveries that would have been accredited to the Spanish.

Moreover, how many times did the explorers almost stumble upon something of importance? What if Martinez could have convinced Perez to investigate the Juan de Fuca Strait in 1774, what if Hezeta could have penetrated the strong current emanating out of the Columbia River, what if Bodega convinced Arteaga to continue off the Kenai Peninsula? The list is endless.

Unlike their foes, Spain was never able to entice private entrepreneurs to the area. Although Bering and Cook's voyages were government-sanctioned, the majority of the charting and collecting of resources came through the work of the British and Russian fur hunters. The vicissitudes of international diplomacy affected little these merchants on the periphery of the world. All of Spain's exploration came from the purses of the government. If Madrid became distracted with another event, the explorations languished. Furthermore, since the seven expeditions did not produce any tangible benefits to the treasury, the government had little incentive to continue the explorations. This is a key

point.

Up to the Arteaga 1779 voyage, Russia and Spain possessed equal footing as to the legitimacy of their claims to Alaska. The Russians had discovered the Aleutians; the Spanish took possession up to the Kenai Peninsula. However, Spain's attempts ended there. Once again the lack of private entrepreneurs must be emphasized. Under Shelikov and Lebedev-Lastochkin, Russia established settlements in Alaska. The Spanish government could not because it simply did not possess the quickness and flexibility of the merchant class. By the time Martinez reached Alaska in 1788, the contest turned in Russia's favor.

The main impediment to Spanish claims was simply the policy of secrecy concerning its discoveries. As stated the Spanish were constantly reacting to foreign movements, never acting first. The published accounts of the first and second Bucareli Expeditions could have solidified their claims to the Pacific Far North. By the time they realized the importance in publishing their findings it was simply too late.

Sadly, it was belated openness that guaranteed some of the place names in Alaska survive today. The encounter between Vancouver and Bodega should be a case study as to the effectiveness of openly sharing information. Since some Spanish discoveries in Prince William Sound and southeast Alaska predated that of the British, out of respect, Vancouver kept some of those place names. How many more times could that have occurred had the Spanish published their findings?

Perhaps more important than the ministerial dearth of vision, the inopportune events in Europe ensured that the Northwest Coast expansion would become abandoned. The Family Compact treaty with France served as a tumor. Spanish entry into the War of American Revolution, brought on by France's behest, suffocated any sense of continuity to the objectives of the coast. Similarly the French Revolution sucked in all European nations and subjected them to years of tribulations. By the time Spain truly recovered from years of war it possessed no colonies, much less policy for them.

In closing, control of the entire American continent proved to be too untenable for Spain. Of course, now it is easy to look back and chuckle at Galvez's dream. With the resource-hungry British, the scrappy Russians, and the upstart Americans bearing on all sides, it was just too difficult for Spain to deflect all its enemies. Adding the troubles at home and the scarcity of resources, New Spain's quest for northern expansion proved to be illusory.

Although it is easy to criticize ministers and officers alike, nothing should be taken away from the tenacity and perseverance of the actual Spanish sailors. Most onboard the *Princesa*, *Sonora*, *San Carlos*, and others were illiterate farmhands, shamelessly intimidated and kidnapped by Spanish officials. Aside from the officers, the majority of the crew were Indian, Filipino, mulatto, or mestizo peasants. It is the story of these men braving the high latitudes that should be remembered, not myopic, fiscally- obsessed government officials.

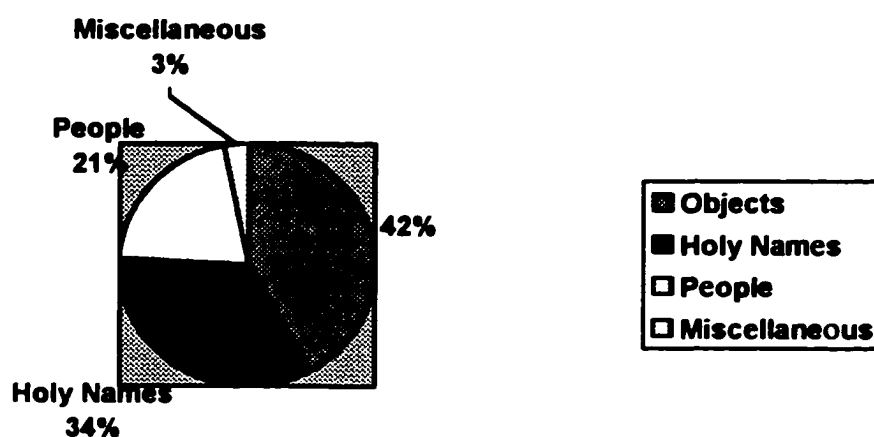
The seven Spanish Alaska expeditions may be easily divided into three groups. The three Bucareli expeditions' (1774, 1775, 1779) primary goal was to simply ascertain the true contour of the coast and the distance between California and Russian activity. Cook's voyage attained that objective in one expedition when the Spanish could not in three. After the revelation of Russian settlements in Alaska via La Perouse's scientists, contact and assessment of the Russian presence in Alaska stood paramount to all other objectives in the Martinez and Fidalgo expeditions (1788 and 1790). With Spain realizing it could never wrestle southcentral Alaska from the Russians, it turned its focus south toward more realistic claims. Finally the Malaspina and Caamaño expeditions (1791 and 1792) served to solve the mystery of the apocryphal Maldonado and Fonte Straits.

The location and number of Spanish place names in Alaska should not be too surprising. Approximately one hundred and thirty-three place names given by actual Spanish explorers exist in Alaska. Six names given by Vancouver in honor of Spanish officials must be added to the number as well. {Color Map 16, p. 254} Bucareli Bay in the Alaskan panhandle features roughly eighty-six percent of these place names. Yakutat Bay, Prince William Sound and the Dixon Entrance all possess a sprinkling of names.

Furthermore, the types of Spanish place names in the state demonstrate a departure from past Spanish explorations. {Table 1} As indicated in the graph, *Objects* ranks first, followed by *Holy Names* and *People*. Had these explorations occurred during

the sixteenth century, the majority of the names would have been religious. However, the influence of the Enlightenment may be demonstrated in the fact that two-thirds of the names are not religious. Of these names the *People* category features most of the well-known names in the state: Gravina, Revillagigedo, Bucareli, Cordova, and Valdez

Table 1- Types of Place Names



Spain was not the only vehicle for Spanish place names. Many exist on the map today not because of Bodega, Arteaga, or Fidalgo, but rather to George Vancouver, American settlers, the United States Coast Guard (USCG), the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey (USC&GS) and the Board on Geographic Names (BGN). Any of the aforementioned could have removed these names but thankfully did not. Furthermore they

honored Spanish accomplishments in the state with Heceta Island, Maurelle Islands, and Sonora Passage.

The author's reason for presenting a chronology of Spanish exploration in Alaska is to demonstrate how these names arrived here. It is better to place the names in a historical context so the reader may understand the fantastic rivalry that occurred off the shore of Alaska and in the capitals of Europe. To simply list every Spanish place name would deprive the reader of a fascinating period in the state's history. It is better to expound upon the origins of Spanish place names via Spanish expeditions of the eighteenth century, than simply to list them, regardless of whether the place names were given 70, 100, or 200 years ago.

Appendix I: Place Names Given by Spanish Explorers

Given by Spanish Mapmakers and Explorers 1774 to 1794
 {46}- Page Number in the Dictionary of Alaska Place Names.

- ❖ **Abrejo Rocks {46}**; *rocks*, two, extend 500 ft., between the Gulf of Esquibel and Portillo Channel, W of San Fernando I., Alex. Arch.; 55°32'00"N, 133°28'40"W; *Var.* Abre-el-ojo, Abrejo Rocks, Eye Opener Islet.
 Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Abre-el-ojo," meaning "open the eye"; published as "Eye Opener Islet" by Baker (1906, p. 249) and "Abrejo Rocks" in 1923 by USC&GS.
- ❖ **Aguada Cove {51}**; *bight*, 1 mi. across, on S shore of Port Santa Cruz, on W coast of Suemez I., Alex. Arch.; 55°16'15" N, 133°25'45"W; BGN 1923; (map 4). *Var.* Aguada Cove.
 Spanish name meaning "watering place" given in 1923 by USC&GS; derived from the name "Rio de la Aguada." See Aguada, Rio de la.
- ❖ **Rio de la Agueda {51}**; *stream*, flows N 1.5 mi. to Aguada Cove, on W coast of Suemez Is, Alex. Arch. 55°16'10"N, 133°25'45"W; (map 4).
 Spanish name meaning "river of the watering place," given in 1779 by Francisco Antonio Mourelle, probably where Arteaga took water in 1770 (Wagner, 1937, p. 371).
- ❖ **Agueda Point {51}**; *point of land*, NE tip of San Juan Bautista I., Alex. Arch.; 55°27'05"N, 133°14'30"W; (map 4). *Var.* Aqueda Point, Mys San Ageda, Punta de Santa Agueda, San Ageda Point
 Name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta de Santa Agueda" meaning "Point of Saint Agueda."

- ❖ **Point Aguirre {52}**: *point of land*, on NW coast of San Fernando I., Alex. Arch.; 55°33'20"N, 133°26'55"W; (map 4). *Var.* Punta de Aguirre.
 Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta de Aguirre," or "Point of Aguirre," "probably after one of the pilots of the 1779 expedition, Juan Bautista Aguirre * * *" (Wagner, 1937, p. 371).

- ❖ **Alargate Rocks {60}**: *islands*, two, extend 1,100 ft. In Portillo Channel, on NW coast of San Fernando I., Alex. Arch.; 55°31'00"N, 133°26'30"W; BGN 1923; (map 4).
Var. Alargate Alla, Sheer-off-there Rock.
 Named in 1923 by USC&GS. The word "alargate" is from the Spanish "alagar," meaning "to sheer off"; Baker (1906, p. 568) published the name "Sheer-off-there Rock." The notation "Alargate Alla," meaning "give this a wide berth," was published next to this feature on maps of the 1779 expedition of Ignacio Arteaga (Wagner, 1937, p. 373). This notation was probably made by the navigator Francisco Antonio Mourelle.

- ❖ **Bocas de Almirante {67}**: *bay*, or *channel*, in N part of San Alberto Bay, Prince of Wales I., Alex. Arch.
 Named by Francisco Antonio Mourelle about May 24, 1779. Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra was the almirante of this expedition but this feature probably was not named for him (Wagner, 1937, p. 425). No inlets or openings show on present charts.

- ❖ **Punta de los Almos {67}**: *point of land*, on E side of San Juan Bautista I., Bucareli Bay, Alex. Arch.; 55°26'N, 133°14'W; (map 4).
 Spanish name, meaning "point of the cottonwood trees," given by the 1779 Don Ignacio Arteaga expedition.

- ❖ **Alonzo Point {68}**: *point of land*, on NE coast of Baker I., in Port Asuncion, Alex. Arch. 55°22' 20"N, 133°31'15"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys de Alanzo, Punta de Alonzo.
 Name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta de Alonzo."

- ❖ **Point Amargura {70}**: *point of land*, S tip of San Fernando I. Alex. Arch.; 55°27'00"N, 133°21'30"W; (map 4). *Var.* Cabo Amargura, Mys de la Amargura, Point Amatgura, Punta de la Amargura.
Name given by Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta de la Amargura," meaning "point of bitterness," on "either May 21, 1779, when he first anchored there or May 27, when he returned to the same point. He was obliged to remain in the bay west of the point until the 30th, hence, perhaps the name" (Wagner, 1937, p. 372).
- ❖ **Arboleda Point {85}**: *point of land*, NW tip of Suemez Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°19'05"N; 133°27'45"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys Arboleda, Punta Arboleda, Punta de Arboleda.
Name given by Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta de Arboleda," meaning "wooded point," on or "about June 5, 1779" (Wagner, 1937, p. 373).
- ❖ **Arboles Island {85}**: *island*, in Portillo Channel, on E coast of Lulu I., Alex. Arch.; 55°29'20"N, 133°25'45"W; (map 4). *Var.* Ysla de los Arboles
Name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Ysla de los Arboles," meaning "island of the trees."
- ❖ **Arrecife Point {88}**: *point of land*, SE tip of Lulu I., Alex. Arch.; 55°27'10"N, 133°25'35"W; BGN 1966; (map 4). *Var.* Point Arrecife, Punta Arrecife, Punta del Arrecife.
Name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta del Arrecife," meaning "reef point."
- ❖ **Point Arrecifes {88}**: *point of land*, extends into Yakutat Roads, 1 mi. NW of Yakutat, Malaspina Coastal Plain; 59°33'40"N, 139°45'00"W; (map 46). *Var.* Punta de Arrecifes.
Capt. Alessandro Malaspina in 1791 named it "Punta de Arrescifes," meaning "point of reefs" (Galiano, 1802, map 8).
- ❖ **Arriaga Passage {88}**: *water passage*, extends 5 mi. W, from Gulf of Esquibel, between Noyes and Saint Joseph Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°34'N, 133°40'W; (map 4). *Var.* Bocas de Arriaga, Bokas Arriaga.
Named "Bocas de Arriaga," or "Arriaga Passage" by Francisco Antonio Mourelle "about August 22 or 23, 1779, no doubt in honor of Juan Pantoja y Arriaga, one of his pilots" (Wagner, 1937, p. 373).

- ❖ **Point Aruncenas {88}**: *point of land*, N of Port Dolores, on NW coast of Suemez I., Ales. Arch.; 55°20'30"N, 133°24'00"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys Arucenas, Punta de Arucenas.
 Name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta de Arucenas," or "Point Arucenas."

- ❖ **Puerto Bagial {99}**: *cove*, extends N 1 mi. off Bucareli Bay, on W coast of Prince of Wales I., SE of Craig, Alex. Arch.; 55°27'30"N, 133°07'45"W; (map 4). *Var.* Bagial Cove, Baijial Cove, Cape Bagial, Mys Bagial, Puerto Bagial, Puerto Bayeal.
 Name given in 1779 by Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Puerto Bagial {from Baquial}" meaning "port of shoals"; Mourelle was in this port on May 30 and 31, 1779, and according to his account of the expedition, it was named "Bayeal" (Wagner, 1937, p. 374).

- ❖ **Isla Balandra {101}**: *island*, 1,100 ft. Long, between Bucareli and San Alberto Bays, NW of San Juan Bautista I., 3 mi. SW of Craig, Alex. Arch.; 55°27'10"N, 133°13'10"W; (map 4).
 Spanish name meaning "sloop" given in 1775 by Francisco Antonio Mourelle and Don Juan Bodega y la Quadra.

- ❖ **Bancas Point {103}**: *point of land*, on W shore of Disenchantment Bay, 1.8 mi. E of 1961 terminus of Black Glacier, 28 mi. NNE of Yakutat, St. Elias Mts.; 59°56'45"N, 139°36'55"W; (map 46). *Var.* Punta de las Bancas.
 Named "Punta de las Bancas" meaning "point of the banks (shoals)" in 1791 by Capt. Alessandro Malaspina (Galiano, 1802, map 9).

- ❖ **Puerto Bazan {112}**: *bay*, extends NE 3.5 mi. On SW coast of Dall I., Alex. Arch.; 54°49'N, 132°59'W; (map 1). *Var.* Bazan Bay, Distress Cove, Port Meares, Puerto del Baylio Bazan.
 Named "Puerto del Baylio {Baile} Bazan," meaning "port of Judge {?} Bazan" by Lt. Don Jacinto Caamaño on July 18, 1792, for Antonio Valdez y Bazan, Spanish naval commander and Minister of Marine and Admiral (Wagner, 1937, p. 375); published as "Port Bazan" in 1853 on Russian Hydrog. Dept. Chart 1493.

- ❖ **Blanquizal Point {144}**: *point of land*, on W coast of Prince of Wales I., SE of Saint Philip I., Alex. Arch.; 55°37'25"N, 133°23'40"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys del Blankisal, Point del Blanquisal, Punta del Blanquizal.
 Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta del Blanquizal," meaning "point of pipe-clay."
- ❖ **Bocas Point {149}**: *point of land*, in Ulloa Channel, on E coast of Suemez I., Alex. Arch.; 55°17'40"N, 133°16'15"W; (map 4). *Var.* Boras Point, mys de las Bokas, Punta Bocas, Punta de las Bocas.
 Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta de las Bocas." meaning "point of the mouths."
- ❖ **Bucareli Bay {164}**: *water passage*, extends NE 25 mi. off Pacific Ocean between Baker and Suemez Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°13'N, 133°32'W; BGN 1899; Map 4). *Var.* Buccarelli Bay, Bucareeli Gulf, Buckarel Bay, Gavan Bukareli, Port Bukarelli, Puerto del Baylio Bucareli, Puerto y Entrada de Bucareli.
 Spanish name given on August 24, 1775, by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra as "Puerto y Entrada de Bucareli," meaning "port and entrance of Bucareli," in honor of Don Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursua, Viceroy of Mexico. According to Wagner (1937, p. 377), Capt. Vancouver called it "Puerto de Baylio Bucareli," meaning "port of the Judge Bucareli."
- ❖ **Islas de Cabras {172}**: *islands*, a group, largest of which is 1,600 ft. long, extend 1 mi. in Bucareli Bay, off N coast of Suemez I., Alex. Arch.; 55°21'15"N, 133°23'30"W; (map 4). *Var.* Isla de Cabras, Ysla de Cabras.
 Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Isla de Cabras" meaning "island of goats."
- ❖ **Puerto de Caldera {174}**: *estuary*, extends S 1 mi. off Bucareli Bay, on W coast of Prince of Wales I., 6.5 miles S of Craig, Alex. Arch.; 55°23'N, 133°10'W; (map 4). *Var.* Puerto de Caldera.
 Named "Puerto de Caldera" on June 1, 1779, by F.A. Mourelle. Caldera, in Spanish, means "caldron," the reference probably being the shape of the estuary.

- ❖ **Point Cambon {176}**: *point of land*, on NW coast of San Juan Bautista I., Alex. Arch.; 55°25'30"N, 133°19'15"W; (map 4). *Var.* Cabo Cambon, Mys Kambon.
Named "Cabo Cambon," i.e. "Cape Cambon," in 1779 by Francisco Antonio Mourelle, "probably after Father Benito Cambon, a Franciscan in upper California" (Wagner, 1937, p. 437).
- ❖ **Punta de la Canal {179}**: *point of land*, on NE coast of Baker I., on Port Mayoral, Alex. Arch.; 55°23'55"N, 133°27'25"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys de la Kanal, Punta de la Canal.
Translation of the name "Punta de la Canal," or "point of the canal," given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle.
- ❖ **Canas Island {179}**: *island*, 0.4 mi. long, in Trocadero Bay, on W coast of Prince of Wales Is. Alex. Arch.; 55°22'50"N, 133°02'00"W; (map 4). *Var.* Ysla de Canas.
Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Ysla de Canal," i.e. "Island of canes (plants)."
- ❖ **Punta Cangrejos {180}**: *point of land*, N tip of Suemez I., Alex. Arch.; 55°20'50"N, 133°21'20"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys Kangrekho, Point Grego, Punta Cangrejos.
Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta Cangrejos," meaning "crab point."
- ❖ **Canoa Point {181}**: *point of land*, on NE shore of Trocadero Bay, W coast of Prince of Wales I., Alex. Arch.; 55°22'55"N, 133°01'25"W; (map 4). *Var.* Canoe Point, mys de la Kanoa, punta de la Canoa.
Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta de la Canoa," meaning "point of the canoe." See Canoe Point.
- ❖ **Punta de Capones {184}**: *point of land*, SW point of entrance to Port Mayoral, on NE coast of Baker I., Alex. Arch.; 55°22'50"N, 133°27'30"W (map 4). *Var.* Mys de Kaponyes, Punta de Capones.
Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta de Capones," meaning "point of capons {the anchor stopper at the cat-head of a ship}" (Wagner, 1937, p. 379).

- ❖ **Point Caponeta {184}**: *point of land*, on N coast of St. Ignace Island behind Bibora Island, Alex. Arch.; 55°26'N, 133°25'W; (map 4). *Var.* Punta Cajoneta, Punta Caponeta.
Probably named by the Don Ignacio Arteaga expedition of 1779; it is an old way to spell "Acaponeta" (Wagner, 1937, p. 439).
- ❖ **Punta del Caracol {185}**: *point of land*, on E coast of Baker Is. in Port Asuncion, Alex. Arch.; 55°22'50"N, 133°31'30"W; (map 4). *Var.* Punta del Caracol.
Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta del Caracol," meaning "point of the snail."
- ❖ **Isla Catalina {192}**: *island*, 1,800 ft. long, between San Christoval Channel and San Alberto Bay off NE coast of San Fernando Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°32'55"N, 133°17'20"W; (map 4). *Var.* Isla Catalina, Ostrov Katalina, Ysla Catalina.
Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Isla de Catalina," meaning "Catalina Island."
- ❖ **Cape Chacon {196}**: *point of land*, S tip of Prince of Wales I., Alex. Arch.; 54°41'30"N, 132°00'50"W; (map 1). *Var.* Bald Cape, Cape de Chacon, Cape Murray, Cape Shakon, Instankoon, Murderers Cape, Mustatchie Nose, Mys Shakon.
Named "Cabo de Chacon." i.e. "Cape Chacon," by Lt. Don Jacinto Caamaño on July 23, 1792, "probably for Antonio Chacon, a Spanish fleet commander who died in 1803, or possibly {for} Jose Mario Chacon, a Brigadier in the Navy in 1797" (Wagner, 1937, p. 441-442). In 1789, Capt., William Douglas, RN, called this point "Cape Murray." The Indian name "Intankoon" {possibly from "Intungidi"}, was given for this point in the log book of the Boston whaler *Eliza*, commanded by Capt. Rowan in 1799, who also called it "Bald Cape," The name was published in Russian as "M{ys} Shakon," i.e. "Cape Shakon" by Capt. Tebenkov (1852, map 9,), IRN. This point was locally known as "Musatchie Nose" in the late 1800's (U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1891, p. 86).
This may also have been called "Murderers Cape" although the identification of the feature so named is uncertain. Caswell, one of the mates of the *Columbia*, had been killed by Indians here on a voyage*** under Gray in August 1792" (Wagner, 1937, p. 475).

- ❖ **Punta de Cocos {228}**: *point of land*, S tip of Saint Ignace I., 13 mi. SW of Craig, Alex. Arch.; 55°22'50"N, 133°26'00"W; (map 4) *Var.* Mys Kokos, Punta de Cocos.
Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta de Cocos," meaning "palm point."
- ❖ **Isla Coposo {237}**: *island*, 300 ft. long, in Port Real Marina, between Baker and Lulu Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°25'50"N, 133°28'00"W; (map 4). *Var.* Isla Coposo, Ostrov Koposo, Ysla Coposo.
Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Isla Coposo," meaning "tufted island."
- ❖ **Cordova Bay {Not listed in Dictionary of Alaska Place Names}**: bay, 20 mi. long between Long and Prince of Wales Is., Alex Arch.; 54°50'N, 132°30'W.
Spanish name given on July 18, 1792 by Don Jacinto Caamaño named in honor of Don Luis de Cordova y Cordova, then Captain General of the Royal Spanish Navy.
- ❖ **Coronados Islands {239}**: *islands*, group, extends 1.5 mi. between Bucareli Bay and Port Saint Nicholas, on W coast of Prince of Wales I., Alex. Arch.; 55°26'N, 133°06'W; (map 4). *Var.* Islas Coronados, Islas Gallegas, Los Coronado, Los Koronados.
Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Islas Coronados," meaning "priest islands." Lt. Don Jacinto Caamaño called them "Islas Gallegas" in 1792.
- ❖ **Point Cosinas {239}**: *point of land*, on E coast of Baker I., near entrance to Port Asumcion, Alex. Arch.; 55°21'50"N, 133°30'30"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys Kosinas, Punta de Cocinas, Punta de Cosinas
Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta de Cosinas" (from Cocina or Cosina), meaning "kitchen point" (Wagner, 1937, p. 382).
- ❖ **Cristina Island {247}**: *island*, group at high water (once connected), extends 1,000ft, between Bucareli Bay and Port Mayoral, on NE coast of Baker I., Alex. Arch.; 55°22'45"N, 133°27'05"W; (map 4). *Var.* Isla Cristina, Ostrov Krestina, Ysla Cristina.
Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Isla Cristina," meaning "Christina Island."

- ❖ **Punta de la Cruz {250}**: *point of land*, on S shore of Port Etches, Hinchinbrook Island; 60°18'N, 146°35'W.
 Spanish name meaning “point of the cross,” named by the 1779 Don Ignacio Arteaga expedition. “The cross marking the spot where possession was taken is a short distance southeast of the point” (Wagner, 1937, p. 445).
- ❖ **Cruz Island {250}**: *islands*, group, extends 1.8 mi., in San Christoval Channel, off NE coast of San Fernando I., Alex. Arch.; 55°33'30"N, 133°18'30"W; BGN 1908: (map 4). *Var.* Cross Island, Yslas de la Cruz.
 Named “Isla de la Cruz” or “cross island” about May 24, 1779, by Francisco Antonio Mourelle (Wagner, 1937, p. 383).
- ❖ **Cruz Pass {250}**: *water passage*, 1.5 mi. long, between San Fernando I. and Cruz I., Alex. Arch.; 55°33'N 133°19'W; BGN 1908; (map 4). *Var.* Canos de Cruz, Canos de la Cruz.
 Named “Canos de Cruz” or “cross pass” about May 24, 1779, by Francisco Antonio Mourelle (Wagner, 1937, p. 383).
- ❖ **Point Cuerdo {251}**: *point of land*, on SE coast of San Fernando I., 6.4 mi. W of Craig, Alex. Arch.; 55°28'30"N, 133°18'55"W; (map 4). *Var.* Punta del Cuerdo.
 Spanish name meaning “crow {cuervo} given as Punta del Cuerdo” by Francisco Antonio Mourelle about May 26, 1779.
- ❖ **Culebra Island {251}**: *islands*, group, extends 1.6 mi., in Gulf of Esquibel, NW of St. Philip Island, Alex. Arch.; 55°40'N, 133°26'W; (map 4). *Var.* Culebra Island, Isla Culebra, La Culebra, Snake Island.
 Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as “Isla Culebra,” meaning “snake island.” The name originally was applied to one island, but USC&GS extended the name about 1883.
- ❖ **Culebrina Islands {251}**: *island*, 0.4 mi. long, between Doyle and Trocadero Bays, off W coast of Prince of Wales I., Alex. Arch.; 55°24'50"N, 133°04'40"W; (map 4). *Var.* Kulebrina.
 Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle; probably from “culebra,” meaning “snake.”

- ❖ **Point Delgada {265}**: *point of land*, on NE coast of Lulu I., Alex. Arch.; 55°30'55"N, 133°28'40"W; (map 4). *Var.* Punta Delgada, Punta del Gada.
Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta Delgada," meaning "slender point." This name may originally have been applied to Point Arena.

- ❖ **Point Desconocida {268}**: *point of land*, S tip of Heceta I., Alex. Arch.; 55°41'35"N, 133°31'35"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys de la Deskonocida, Punta de la Desconocida.
Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta de la Desconocida," i.e. "Point of the Unknown."

- ❖ **Disenchantment Bay {274}**: bay, 3 mi. across, extends SW 10 mi. from mouth of Russell Fiord to Point Latouche, at head of Yakutat Bay, St. Elias Mts.; 59°55'N, 139°40'W; (map 46). *Var.* Bahia de las Bancas, Digges Sound, Puerto del Desengaño.
Named "Puerto del Desengaño," meaning "bay of disenchantment," in Spanish, by Capt. Alessandro Malaspina in 1792 (Galiano, 1802, Atlas, map 3). The name refers to the frustration of his hopes of finding a passage to the Atlantic—one of the purposes of his voyage. Sailing N from Sitka in 1791, he reached the entrance to Yakutat Bay, which he hoped was the passage he sought. He sailed up the bay as far as Haenke I., at which point he found the passage blocked by ice. The bay was called "Digges Sound" by Lt. Peter Puget, RN, and "Bahia de las Bancas" by Capt. Malaspina in reference to the ice (U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1883, p. 210).

- ❖ **Point Dolores {278}**: *bay*, 1.4 mi. long, on NW coast of Suemez I., Alex. Arch.; 55°20'N, 133°25'W; (map 4). *Var.* Proliv Dolores, Puerto de los Dolores, Zaliv de los Dolores.
Name given by Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Puerto de los Dolores," i.e. "Port of the sorrows," on "June 4 or 5, 1779, as he was there both days" (Wagner, 1937, p. 384).

- ❖ **Cape Empinado {314}**: *point of land*, on Prince of Wales I. extending into Bucareli Bay between Tranquil Point and Point Providence, Alex. Arch.; 55°22'N, 133°15'W; (map 4). *Var.* Epinado Cape.
 Spanish name meaning “pointed cape” given by Don Jacinto Arteaga 1779 expedition. The descriptive name does not seem to fit this point and may instead apply to one farther northeast.

- ❖ **Point Engaño {314}**: *point of land*, on SW coast of Kruzof I., 10 mi. W of Sitka, Alex. Arch.; 57°00'45" N, 135°51'00"W; BGN 1926; (map 9)
 The name of “Cabo de Engaño” meaning “cape of deception (or deceit)” was given to Cape Edgecumbe in 1775 by F.A. Mourelle (in La Perouse, 1798, pl. 26). The USC&GS applied the name to this point of land in 1926.

- ❖ **Point Espada {318}**: *point of land*, W tip of San Clemente I., in Portillo Channel, between Lulu and San Fernando Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°28'25"N, 133°24'45"W; (map 4). *Var.* Punta del Espada, Sword Point.
 Spanish name given in 1779 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as “Punta del Espada,” meaning “sword point.”

- ❖ **Gulf of Esquivel {318}**: *bay*, 15 mi. long, between Prince of Wales I. and Mourelle Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°38'N, 133°30'W; (map 4). *Var.* Bahia de Esquibel, Esquibel Bay, Gulf of Esquibel Boca Fina, Gulf of Esquible.
 Named “Bahia de Esquibel,” or “Esquibel Bay” by Francisco Antonio Mourelle “about May 22, 1779, in honor of Mariano Nuñez de Esquivel, the surgeon of the ship *La Favorita*” (Wagner, 1937, p. 386.).

- ❖ **Port Estrella {319}**: *estuary*, extends E 2 mi., off Bucareli Bay, at N entrance to Ulloa Channel, on W coast of Prince of Wales I., Alex. Arch.; 55°21'30"N, 133°16'30"W; (map 4). *Var.* Puerto de Estrella, Puerto de la Estrella, Zaliv de la Yestrelya.
 Named “Puerto de Estrella,” or “port of the star,” on June 3, 1779, by Francisco Antonio Mourelle (Wagner, 1937, p. 387). The “star” referred to is probably the North Star.

- ❖ **Point Eugenia {320}**: *point of land*, on NW coast of San Juan Bautista I., Alex. Arch.; 55°26'45"N, 133°17'25"W; (map 4). *Var.* Punta de Eugenia, Punta San Eugenio.

Spanish name given in 1779 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta San Eugenio," meaning "Point Saint Eugene."

- ❖ **Cape Felix {330}**: *point of land*, SW tip of Suemez I., Alex. Arch.; 55°12'35"N, 133°26'00"W; (map 4). *Var.* Cabo de San Antonio Mourelle, Cabo de San Felix, Mys Feliks, Point Saint Felix, Saint Felix Point.

Named by F.A. Mourelle on May 18, 1779, "when Mourelle {sic} began his exploration of Bucareli Bay opposite this point; after San Felix whose day it was" (Wagner, 1937, p. 499).

- ❖ **Bocas de Finas {332}**: *water passage*, extends 4 mi. NW from Gulf of Esquibel, between Heceta I. and Mourelle Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°41'30"N, 133°35'00"W; (map 4). *Var.* Boka Fina, Bokas de Finas.

Spanish name given in 1779 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Bocas de Finas," i.e. "Final {?} Passage." According to Wagner (1937, p. 389), "It is perhaps an error for fines-probably the limit of Bucareli Bay at the north end of Mourelle's {sic} reconnaissance in 1779."

- ❖ **Cape Flores {343}**: *point of land*, N tip of Joe I., between Port Estrella and Ulloa Channel, on W coast of Prince of Wales I., Alex. Arch.; 55°21'15"N, 133°17'30"W; (map 4). *Var.* Cabo de Flores, Mys Flores, Point Flores.

Spanish name found on the maps of the 1779 Don Ignacio Arteaga expedition. Shown as "Cabo de Flores" meaning "Cape of Flowers;" more likely the place was named after some individual whose name was Flores (Wagner, 1937, p. 388).

- ❖ **Point Fortaleza {346}** *point of land*, S point of entrance to Fortaleza Bay, on SE coast of Baker I., Alex. Arch.; 55°17'40"N, 133°35'30"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys de la Fartalesa, Punta de la Forteleza.

The name "Punta de la Forteleza" or "Stronghold Point" was given by Francisco Antonio Mourelle who discovered it on May 18, 1779. This was "no doubt a settlement of Indians on top of the high rock near Punta San Bartolome {Cape Bartolome}, described by Mourelle {sic} in his journal" (Wagner, 1937, p. 388-389).

- ❖ **Fula Point {356}**: *point of land*, on NW coast of Suemez I., between Points Arboleda and Remedios, Alex. Arch.; 55°18'25"N, 133°26'45"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys de Fula, Punta de Fula, Punta de Tula.

Spanish name given in 1779 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta de Tula."

- ❖ **Point Garcia {360}**: *point of land*, on NW coast of San Fernando I., Alex. Arch.; 55°33'45"N, 133°26'30"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys de Garcia, Punta de Garcia.

Spanish name given in 1779 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta de Garcia" or "Point Garcia"; "no doubt in honor of Juan Garcia the surgeon of the vessel *La Favorita* of the Arteaga expedition ***" (Wagner, 1937, p. 389).

- ❖ **Gomez Point {377}**: *point of land*, on the south coast of Kenai Penin. separating Windy and Chugach Bays, Kenai Mts.; 59°13'N, 151°27'W; (map 50). *Var.* Punta de Gomez.

Named on an unpublished map by F.A. Mourelle and Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra dated 1779.

- ❖ **Gravina Island {388}**: *island*, 21 mi. long and 9.5 mi. wide, in Clarence Strait, between Revillagigedo and Prince of Wales Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°17'N, 131°46'W; (map 3). *Var.* Gravina Islands.

This island is the northernmost of the group named in 1792 by Don Jacinto Caamaño; this name was formally applied to this island in 1793 by Capt. George Vancouver, RN. "It was without doubt named for Federico Gravina, the prominent Spanish naval officer of the day" (Wagner, 1937, p. 390).

- ❖ **Port Gravina {388}**: *bay*, 9 mi. wide, on N edge of Orca Bay, 22 mi. NW of Cordova, Chugach Mts.; 60°38'N, 146°23'W; (map 64).

Named by Salvador Fidalgo when he took possession June 10, 1790. Probably named for Frederico Gravina, a prominent Spanish naval officer of the day (Wagner, 1937, p. 390).

- ❖ **Hermanos Islands {417}**: *island*, between San Alberto Bay and San Christoval Channel, SE of Rosary I., Alex. Arch.; 55°34'10"N, 133°11'45"W; BGN 1908; (map 4). *Var.* Los Hermanos, The Brothers.
 Spanish name "Los Hermanos," meaning "The Brothers," given in 1775 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle. Baker (1906, p. 148) published the translation, "Brothers (the)"; changed back to "Hermanos" in 1908 by USC&GS to avoid duplication.

- ❖ **Point Iphegenia {459}**: *point of land*, on W coast of Prince of Wales I., E point of entrance to Port Caldera, 6.4 mi. S of Craig, Alex. Arch.; 55°22'55"N, 133°08'55"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys Santa Yefigeniya, Punta de Santa Efigenia.
 Name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta de Santa Efigenia" or "Point of Saint Efigenia."

- ❖ **Point Isleta {463}**: *point of land*, on W coast of Suemez I., in Port Santa Cruz, Alex. Arch.; 55°16'30"N, 133°36'30"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys de los Islotillos, Point Islet, Punta de la Isleta, Punta de los Yslotillos.
 Spanish word meaning "rocky island" published in 1932 Coast Pilot (p. 209). In 1779, Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle named this feature "Punta de la Isleta," apparently for the islet off the point.

- ❖ **Punta de los Islotillos {463}**: *point of land*, just SE of Craig at the entrance to Port Bagial opposite Cape Suspiro, Alex. Arch.; 55°28'N, 133°07'W. *Var.* Punta de los Islote.
 Spanish name meaning "point of the small rocky islands" given by F.A. Mourelle and Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra in 1779. It is called "Islote" in the text.

- ❖ **Labandra Rock {560}**: *rock*, between Bucareli Bay and Port Santa Cruz, on W coast of Suemez I., Alex. Arch.; 55°17'N, 133°27'35"W; (map 4). *Var.* La Labandera.
 Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "La Labandera," meaning "the washer-woman."

- ❖ **Ladrones Islands {560}**: *islands*, group, extend 2 mi. in Trocadero Bay, on W coast of Prince of Wales I., Alex. Arch.; 55°23'N, 133°05'W; BGN 1922; (map 4). *Var.* Islas de Ladrones, Ladron Islands, Robber Islands, Yslas de Ladrones.
 Name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as “Islas de Ladrones,” meaning “islands of robbers.” This name is “Only found on the maps of the Arteaga expedition of 1779 {in which Quadra and Mourelle took part}, but not in the narratives, although thieving Indians in this locality are mentioned by Mourelle {sic}” (Wagner, 1937, p. 395).

- ❖ **Larzatita Island {565}**: *island*, 1,400 ft. long, in San Christoval Channel, between Prince of Wales and San Fernando Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°34'50"N, 133°19'40"W; BGN 1908; (map 4). *Var.* Isla Lazzatita, La Ratita, Larratita.
 Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as “La Ratita,” meaning “a short time(?)”; the name Larzatita is an alteration of Mourelle and Quadra’s name (Wagner, 1937, p. 394).

- ❖ **Point Lomas {591}**: *point of land*, on W coast of Prince of Wales I., in Port Caldera, 6.8 mi. S of Craig, Alex. Arch.; 55°22'40"N, 133.10'30"W; BGN 1922; (map 4). *Var.* Cabo de las Lomas, Cape Lomas, Mys de los Lomas, Point Loma.
 Name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as “Cabo de las Lomas,” meaning “cape of the hillocks,” Baker (1906, p. 411), published the name “Cape Lomas”; changed to “Point Lomas” in 1922 by USC&GS, because “Not bold or prominent enough to be styled a Cape.”

- ❖ **Madre De Dios Islands {613}**: *islands*, 1.8 mi. long, between Bucareli and Trocadero Bays, on W coast of Prince of Wales I., Alex. Arch.; 55°23'40"N, 133°08'W; (map 4). *Var.* Isla de la Madre de Dios, Isla Madre de Dios, Ostrov de la Madre de Deos.
 Name “Isla de la Madre de Dios” or “Mother of God Island” was given to this island June 1, 1779, by Francisco Antonio Mourelle (Wagner, 1937, p. 395).

- ❖ **Point Marabilla {621}**: *point of land*, on NW coast of Lulu I., Alex. Arch.; 55°30'20"N, 133°32'30"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys de la Mirabilya, Punta de la Marabilla, Punta Maravilla.
 Spanish name given in 1779 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as “Punta Maravilla” or “point marigold.”

- ❖ **Marabilla Island {621}**: *island*, 0.4 mi. long, in Saint Nicholas Channel, off NW coast of Lulu I., Alex. Arch.; 55°31'00"N, 133°32'30"W; (map 4). *Var.* Isla Maravilla, Ostrov de la Mirabilya, Ysla de la Marabilla.
Spanish name given in 1779 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Isla Maravilla" or "marigold island."
- ❖ **Point Maria {622}**: *point of land*, on E coast of Baker I., NE point of entrance to Port Asumcion, Alex. Arch.; 55°22'00"N, 133°29'30"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys Maria Khosefa, Punta de Maria Josefa, Punta Maria Josefa.
Name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta de Maria Josefa," i.e. "Point of Mary Josephine." "Maria Josefa was one of the daughters of Charles III" (Wagner, 1937, p. 470).
- ❖ **Point Maria Antonio {622}**: *point of land*, on S side of San Juan Bautista Island, Bucareli Bay, Alex. Arch.; 55°24'N, 133°18'W; (map 4).
Named by the 1779 Don Ignacio Arteaga expedition. "One of the children of Fernando IV, King of Naples, bore this name" (Wagner, 1937, p. 470).
- ❖ **Point Mayoral {630}**: *water passage*, 3 mi. long, between Baker and Saint Ignace Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°24'N, 133°27'W; (map 4). *Var.* Gavan Mayeral, Mayoral Cover, Puerto de Mayoral.
Name "Puerto de Mayoral" or "port of steward" was given on May 20, 1779, by Francisco Antonio Mourelle (Wagner, 1937, p. 396).
- ❖ **Point Miraballes {647}**: *point of land*, between Port Saint Nicholas and Trocadero Bay, on W coast of Prince of Wales I., Alex. Arch.; 55°24'50"N, 133°05'05"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys Mirabales, Punta de Miraballes, Punta de Miravalles.
Spanish name given in 1779 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta de Miraballes," meaning "sunflower point."
- ❖ **Muerta Island {663}**: *island*, 1,100 ft. across, in Port Real Marina, on NE coast of Baker I., Alex. Arch.; 55°24'10"N, 133°29'15"W; (map 4). *Var.* Isla del Muerto, Ysla del Muerta.
Name "Isla del Muerto" meaning "island of the dead," was probably given to this island in 1779 by Francisco Antonio Mourelle. "{Juan} Pantoja in his account of the 1779 exploration of the bay {Bucareli} describes finding a dead male Indian on an island in the Puerto Real Marina ***" (Wagner, 1937, p. 398).

- ❖ **Point Muñoz {665}**: *point of land*, on SW coast of Khantaak I., 2.2 mi. NE of Point Carrew and 3.5 mi. NW of Yakutat, Malaspina Coastal Plain: 59°35'10"N, 139°48'10"W; (map 46). *Var.* Mys JW, Southwest Point.

Named in 1791 by Capt. Alessandro Malaspina, probably for a Spanish naval officer named Muñoz Goosens (Wagner, 1937, p. 399). Capt. Tebenkov (1852, map 7), IRN called the point "Mys JW," which was interpreted by Baker (1906, p. 449) to mean "Southwest Point."

- ❖ **Cape Muzon {667}**: *point of land*, SE tip of Dall I., Alex. Arch.; 54°39'50"N, 132°41'30"W; (map 1). *Var.* Cabo de Muñoz, Cabo de Muñoz Goosens, Cabo de Muñoz Gorens, Cape Caigane, Cape Irving, Cape Kaygany, Cape Pitt, Kaigahnee, Kaigane, Kaigani, Kygane, Mys Kaygany.

Baker (1960, p. 450) says "It is highly probable that this is Cabo de Muñoz or Muñoz Goosens or Muñoz Gorens of {Don Jacinto} Caamaño, in 1792, and that {G} Vancouver, in copying from Caamaño, transposed two letters, making "Muzon." In this form it has come into general use and is well established." In 1787 this point was called "Cape Pitt" by Capt. George Dixon and "Cape Irving" by Capt. William Douglas. The native name was published in Russian as "M[ys] Kaygany (Muzon)," i.e. "Cape Kaygany (Muzon)," i.e. "Cape Kaygany (Muzon)," by Capt. Tebenkov (1852, map 9).

- ❖ **Nuñez Point {711}**: *point of land*, SE tip of Bean I., off S. coast of Prince of Wales I, near entrance to Nichols Bay, Alex. Arch.; 54°41'05"N, 132°05'30"W; (map 1). *Var.* Cape Murray, Point Nuñez, Punta de Nuñez.

Spanish name given on July 23, 1792, by Don Jacinto Caamaño. This point was called "Cape Murray" by some of the early traders.

- ❖ **Palisade Point {736}**: *point of land*, N tip of island in San Christoval Channel, N of Palisade I., on N coast of San Fernando I., Alex. Arch.; 55°34'30"N 133°22'00"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys de la Yempalizda, Punta de la Empalizada, Punta Empalizada.

Translation of the name "Punta de la Empalizada" given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle.

- ❖ **Palma Bay {736}**: *bight*, 7 mi. across, in Glacier Bay National Monument, on Gulf of Alaska, between Icy Point and Boussole Bay, 60 mi. NW of Hoonah, St. Elias Mts.; 58°23'N, 137°00'W; (map 10). *Var.* Ice Bay, Icy Bay.
Named "Baia de Palma" in 1792 by Capt. Alessandro Malaspina (U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1883, p. 201). See Wagner (1937, p. 481).
- ❖ **Parida Island {739}**: *island*, 1,250 ft., long in San Alberto Bay, 5 mi. NW of Craig, Alex. Arch.; 55°31'10"N, 133°14'30"W; (map 4). *Var.* Isla Partida, La Parida.
Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Isle Partida" or "divided island." According to Wagner (1937, p. 481-482), the word "parida" is a corruption of "partida."
- ❖ **Pepper Point {748}**: *point of land*, on NE coast of Baker I., W point of entrance to Port Asuncion, Alex. Arch.; 55°21'30"N, 133°30'30"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys e la Pimiyenta, Punta de la Pimienta.
Translation of the name "Punta de la Pimienta" given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle.
- ❖ **Perlas Point {749}**: *point of land*, on W coast of Prince of Wales I. in Trocadero Bay, 3 mi. SE of Point Iphigenia, Alex. Arch.; 55°22'05"N, 133°04'30"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys Perlas, Pearl Point, Punta de Perlas.
Spanish name given in 1779 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta de Perlas," meaning "point of pearls."
- ❖ **Piedras Islands {754}**: *island*, 200 ft. long, between San Christoval Channel and San Alberto Bay, E. of Cruz Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°33'35"N, 133°17' 50"W; BGN 1908; (map 4). *Var.* Rocky Island, Ysla de Piedras.
Spanish name recorded in 1907 by E. F. Dickins, USC&GS; the name was taken from Ysla de Piedras, meaning "Island of Stones," given in 1775 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle. Baker (1906, p. 531) published the translation "Rock Island."

- ❖ **Rancheria Island {792}**: *island*, 0.3 mi. long, between Port Saint Nicholas and Trocadero Bay, on W coast of Prince of Wales I., Alex. Arch.; 55°25'40"N, 133°05'20"W; BGN 1923; (map 4). *Var.* La Rancheria, La Ransheria, Ranchera Island.

Named "La Rancheria," meaning "the settlement," by Francisco Antonio Mourelle on May 31, 1779, "**** because there was a stockade on it." He found it uninhabited but with a number of good houses (Wagner, 1937, p. 404). In 1923 the name was formally applied to this island by USC&GS; its location was previously not clearly defined, and name was in limited use.

- ❖ **Port of Real Marina {795}**: *water passage*, 7 mi. long, between Baker and Lulu Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°25'30"N, 133°30'W; (map 4). *Var.* Port de la Marina, Puerto de la Real Marina, Real Marine Port, Sea Otter Bay.

Named "Puerto de la Real Marina," or "Port of the Royal Navy," on May 22, 1779, by Francisco Antonio Mourelle. The name probably arose because of its size; it was large enough to hold the entire Spanish Royal Navy (Wagner, 1937, p. 404).

- ❖ **Port Refugio {800}**: *bay*, extends SW 2.5 mi. off Ulloa Channel on NE coast of Suemez I., Alex. Arch.; 55°18'N, 133°18'W; (map 4). *Var.* Gavan Refugio, Port Refuge, Puerto del Refugio.

Named "Puerto del Refugio," meaning "port of refuge," on June 3, 1779, by Francisco Antonio Mourelle (Wagner, 1937, p. 405).

- ❖ **Point Remedios {801}**: *point of land*, on NW coast of Suemez I., W point of entrance to Port Dolores, Alex. Arch.; 55°19'45"N, 133°26'00"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys de los Remedios, Punta de los Remedios.

Named "Punta de los Remedios," meaning "point of the remedies," given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle. "Bodega {y Quadra} carried a bronze image of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios on this voyage and perhaps the name was given in her honor, or perhaps after his ship the *Favorita*, of which the real name was *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*" (Wagner, 1937, p. 405).

- ❖ **Revillagigedo Channel {803}**: *water passage*, trends NNW 40 mi. from Dixon Entrance to Tongass Narrows at Dairy, on S coast of Revillagigedo I., Alex. Arch.; 54°48'N, 131°06'W {SE end}, 55°17'N, 131°34'W {NW end}; BGN 1927; (map 3). *Var.* Revilla Gigedo Channel.
Named in 1792 by Jacinto Caamaño (Wagner, 1937, p. 405). See Revillagigedo Island; Font, Streights du.²⁵⁵

- ❖ **Point Rosary {815}**: *point of land*, S point of entrance to Port Santa Cruz, on W coast of Suemez I., Alex. Arch.; 55°16'25"N, 133°28'00"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys de Rosario, Point Rosario, Punta del Rosario.
Translation of the name "Punta del Rosario" given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle.

- ❖ **Rosary Island {815}**: *island*, 0.7 mi. long, in San Christoval Channel, between Prince of Wales and San Fernando Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°35'N, 133°18'W; (map 4). *Var.* Isla del Rosario, Ostrov del Rozario, Ysla del Rosario.
Translation of the name "Isla del Rosario" given in 1779 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle after Lt. Arteaga's vessel, the *Princesa*, of which the real name was Nuestra Señora del Rosario **** (Wagner, 1937, p. 492).

- ❖ **Point Saint Boniface {825}**: *point of land*, on E coast of Baker I., in Port San Antonio, Alex. Arch.; 55°20'25"N, 133°34'30"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys San Bonifacio, Punta de San Bonifacio.
Translation of the name "Punta de San Bonifacio" given by Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle, "probably on May 18 {1779} in honor of the saint whose day is May 14 ****" (Wagner, 1937, p. 406).

- ❖ **St. Ignace Island {826}**: *island*, 3.2 mi. long, between Port Mayoral and Ursua Channel, off NE coast of Baker I., Alex. Arch.; 55°24'N, 133°26'W; (map 4). *Var.* Ignatio Island, Isla San Ignacio, Ostrov San Ignatsa, Ysla de San Ygnacio.
Translation of the name "Isla San Ignacio" given "about May 22, 1779," by Francisco Antonio Mourelle (Wagner, 1937, p. 501).

²⁵⁵ Whether or not Caamaño actually named this channel is unclear.

- ❖ **Point Saint Isidore {826}**: *point of land*, W tip of Lulu I., Alex. Arch.; 55°27'N, 133°37'W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys San Izidor, Punta de San Isodoro, Punta de San Ysidoro.

Translation of the name "Punta de San Isodoro" given by Francisco Antonio Mourelle "about May 23, 1779, perhaps after San Isidro Labrador whose day is May 15" (Wagner, 1937, p. 501).

- ❖ **St. Joseph Island {827}**: *island*, 2 mi. long, in Iphegenia Bay, 1.7 mi. N of Noyes I., Alex. Arch., 55°36'N, 133°43'W; (map 4). *Var.* Isla de San Josep, Isla Dan Joseph, Ysla de San Josep.

Translation of the name "Isla de San Josep" given "about May 23, 1779," by Francisco Antonio Mourelle (Wagner, 1937, p. 409).

- ❖ **Port St. Nicholas {827}**: *estuary*, extends E 5 mi. off Bucareli Bay, on W coast of Prince of Wales I., Alex. Arch.; 55°26'N, 133°07'W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys de San Nikolay, Puerto de San Nicolao, Puerto de San Nicolas.

Translation of the name "Puerto de San Nicholas" given "about June 1, 1779," by Francisco Antonio Mourelle (Wagner, 1937, p. 412).

- ❖ **St. Nicholas Channel {827}**: *water passage*, extends 9 mi. S, off Gulf of Esquibel, between Lulu and Noyes Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°26'N, 133°40'W; (map 4). *Var.* Canal de San Nicolas, Kanal de San Nikola, San Nicholas Canal, San Nicholas Channel, San Nicolas Channel, San Nicolo Channel.

Translation of the name "Canal de San Nicolas" given "about May 22, 1779," by Francisco Antonio Mourelle (Wagner, 1937, p. 412).

- ❖ **Point St. Nicholas {827}**: *point of land*, SE tip of Noyes I., Alex Arch.; 55°26'20"N, 133°40'00"W; BGN 1923; (map 4). *Var.* Nicolo Point, Punta de Santa Theresa, San Nicolao Point, San Nicolo Point.

Named "Punta de Santa Theresa" by Francisco Antonio Mourelle "probably on that saint's day May 19, 1779" (Wagner, 1937, p. 513). Renamed in 1923 by USC&GS; derived from Saint Nicholas Channel.

- ❖ **St. Philip Island {828}**: *island*, 1.5 mi. long, in Gulf of Esquibel, W of Prince of Wales I., Alex. Arch.; 55°39'N, 133°25'W; (map 4). *Var.* Isla San Felipe, Ostrov de San Filip, Ysla de San Felipe.
Translation of the name "Isla San Felipe" given "about May 23, 1779, by Francisco Antonio Mourelle after San Felipe Neri, who died May 25" (Wagner, 1937, p. 499).
- ❖ **Point San Sebastian {828}**: *point of land*, on W coast of Prince of Wales I., on Trocadero Bay, Alex. Arch.; 55°21'5"N, 132°59'15"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys San Sebastian, Punta de San Sebastian, Punta San Sebastian.
Translation of the name "Punta de San Sebastian" given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle.
- ❖ **St. Thomas Island {828}**: *point of land*, on E coast of Lulu I., Alex. Arch.; 55°29'30"N, 133°26'15"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys San Tomas, Punta de San Tomas, Punta San Tomas.
Translation of the name "Punta de San Tomas" given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle.
- ❖ **San Adrian Island {833}**: *island*, 800 ft. long, in Ulloa Channel, on NE coast of Suemez I., Alex Arch.; 55°19'19"N, 133°17'45"W; (map 4). *Var.* Islas de San Adrian, Ostrov San Adriyan.
Named "Ysla de San Adriano" by Francisco Antonio Mourelle and Juan de la Bodega y Quadra in 1779. This was published in Russian as "Os{trov} San Adriyan" by Lt. Sarichev (1826 map, map 21), IRN.
- ❖ **San Alberto Bay {834}**: *bay*, 7.5 mi. long, between Prince of Wales and San Fernando Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°28'N, 133°14'W; BGN 1899; (map 4). *Var.* Guba San Alverto, San Alberti Bay, Seno de San Alberto.
Named "Seno de San Alberto," or "Saint Albert Bay," by Francisco Antonio Mourelle "about May 24, 1779, the day he entered it" (Wagner, 1937, p. 407).
- ❖ **Point San Antonio {834}**: *point of land*, on W coast of Prince of Wales I., near S entrance to Ulloa Channel, Alex. Arch.; 55°17'10"N, 133°14'00"W; (map 4). *Var.* Punta de San Antonio
Spanish name given in 1779 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta de San Antonio," meaning "Point of Saint Anthony."

- ❖ **San Christoval Channel {834}**: *water passage*, extends SE 6 mi. from Gulf of Esquibel to San Alberto Bay, Alex. Arch.; 55°33'N, 133°20'W; (map 4). *Var.* Canal de San Christoval, Canal de San Cristoval.
 Named "Canal de San Cristoval," or "Saint Christopher Channel," by Francisco Antonio Mourelle on May 24, 1779, the day he passed through it (Wagner, 1937, p. 408).

- ❖ **San Clemente Island {834}**: *island*, 1,600 ft. long, in Portillo Channel, between Lulu and San Fernando Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°28'25"N, 133°24'30"W; BGN 1923; (map 4). *Var.* Clam Island, Clement Island, Clem Island, Isla San Clemente, Ostrov San Klementa, Ysla de San Clemente.
 Spanish name given in 1779 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Isla San Clemente," i.e., "Saint Clement Island."

- ❖ **San Fernando Island {836}**: *island*, 8 mi. long, 5.6 mi. W of Craig, W of Prince of Wales I., Alex. Arch.; 55°30'N, 133°20'W; (map 4). *Var.* Isla San Fernando, Ostrov San Fernando.
 Named "Isla San Fernando," i.e., "Saint Ferdinand Island," by Francisco Antonio Mourelle who "reached the southern point of this island on the night of May 21, 1779. He again anchored at this point May 30 and probably named the island at that time in honor of San Fernando, King of Spain, whose day it was" (Wagner, 1937, p. 409).

- ❖ **Point San Francisco {836}**: *point of land*, on E coast of Noyes I., Alex. Arch.; 55°30'20"N, 133°35'00"W; (map 4).
 Named by the 1779 Arteaga expedition (Wagner, 1937, p. 409).

- ❖ **San Francisco Island {836}**: *island*, 500 ft. long, in St. Nicholas Channel, on W coast of Lulu I., Alex. Arch.; 55°29'15"N, 133°34'25"W; (map 4). *Var.* Isla San Francisco, Ysla de San Francisco.
 Named "Ysla de San Francisco," i.e. "Island of Saint Francis," probably by Don Ignacio Arteaga in 1779, as the name is found only on the maps of this expedition.

- ❖ **San Jose Point {837}**: *point of land*, N point of entrance to Port Santa Cruz, on W coast of Suemez I., Alex. Arch.; 55°17'25"N, 133°27'15"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys San Khosy, Punta de San Jose, Punta San Josef.
 Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta de San Jose," or "Point of Saint Joseph."

- ❖ **San Juan Bautista Island {837}**: *island*, 4.5 mi. long, between Bucareli Bay and Ursua Channel, W of Prince of Wales I., Alex. Arch.; 55°26'N, 133°16'W; BGN 1899; (map 4). *Var.* Isla San Juan Bautista, Ostrov de San Khuan Batista, San Jean Bautista Island.
 The name "Isla San Juan Bautista," i.e. "St. John the Baptist Island," was given to this feature by Francisco Antonio Mourelle who "in his exploration of the bay {Bucareli} examined the northern part of this island on May 30, 1779, but no doubt he had discovered it before" (Wagner, 1937, p. 410).

- ❖ **San Juanito Island {837}**: *island*, 200 ft. long, in Bucareli Bay, 0.3 mi. E of Point Miliflores, the SE tip of San Juan Bautista I., Alex. Arch.; 55°24'30"N, 133°14'40"W; (map 4). *Var.* Isla San Juanito, San Khuyenito.
 Named "Isla San Juanito" or "Saint John Island," by Francisco Antonio Mourelle "about June 2, 1779, perhaps after San Juan de la Cruz, whose day is May 21" (Wagner, 1937, p. 410).

- ❖ **San Leonardo Point {837}**: *point of land*, on W coast of Saint Ignace I., Alex. Arch.; 55°24'15"N, 133°26'35"W; (map 4). *Var.* Punta de San Leonardo, Saint Leonard Point.
 Spanish name given in 1779 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta de San Leonardo," i.e. "Point of Saint Leonard."

- ❖ **San Lorenzo Island {837}**: *islands*, extend 1.6 mi., from S point of Mourelle I., W of Gulf of Esquibel, Alex. Arch.; 55°35'45"N, 133°37'00"W; BGN 1917; (map 4). *Var.* Isla San Lorenzo, San Lorenzo Island, Ysla de San Lorenzo.
 Spanish name given about May 23, 1779, by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Isla San Lorenzo," or "Saint Lawrence Island."

- ❖ **San Pasqual Island {837}**: *point of land*, on N coat of San Fernando I., Alex. Arch.; 55°34'10"N, 133°23'10"W; BGN 1923; (map 4). *Var.* Mys San Paskala, Punta de San Pasqual, Punta San Pasqual, San Pascual Point.
 Named "Punta San Pasqual," i.e. "Saint Pasqual Point," about May 27, 1779, by Francisco Antonio Mourelle, perhaps after San Pasqual Bailon whose day is May 17 (Wagner, 1937, p. 412). In 1923 the location of this feature was formally defined by USC&GS; previously, it was confused with Point Santa Rosalia, one mile to the west.

- ❖ **San Rafael Point {838}**: *point of land*, on SE coast of Saint Ignace I., in Bucareli Bay, Alex. Arch.; 55°23'10"N, 133°25'00"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys San Rafayel, Punta de San Rafael.
 Named "Punta de San Rafael," i.e. "Point of Saint Raphael," by Francisco Antonio Mourelle about May 21, 1779, perhaps after San Rafael whose apparition is celebrated May 7" (Wagner, 1937, pp. 412-413).

- ❖ **Point San Roque {838}**: *point of land*, N point of entrance to Port San Antonio, on E coat of Baker I., Alex. Arch.; 55°20'10"N, 133°32'35"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys San Rok, Point San Roch, Punta de Carrizales, Punta de San Roque, Reed Grass Point.
 Named "Punta de San Roque," or "Point of Saint Roque," on "May 18 or 19, 1779," by Francisco Antonio Mourelle (Wagner, 1937, p. 413). This may also be the point called "Punta de Carrizales" another time by the same expedition.

- ❖ **Port Santa Cruz {838}**: *bay*, extends E 2.5 mi. off Bucareli Bay, on W coast of Suez I., Alex. Arch.; 55°17'N, 133°27'W; (map 4). *Var.* Puerto de la Santa Cruz, Puerto de la Santissima Cruz, Zaliv de la Santa Krus.
 Named "Puerto de la Santissima Cruz," or "Port of the Most Holy Cross" by Lt. Arteaga, on "May 13, 1779, in remembrance of the finding of the Cross, celebrated May 3, the day he reached the Port" (Wagner, 1937, p. 414).

- ❖ **Point Santa Gertrudis {838}**: *point of land*, N tip of Lulu I., Alex. Arch.; 55°31'50"N, 133°31'15"W; (map 4). *Var.* Point Saint Gertruda, Punta Santa Gertrudis, Saint Gertrude Point.
 Named "Punta Santa Gertrudis," or "Point Saint Gertrude," by the Spaniards in the 1770's, reportedly for the Spanish man-of-war Santa Gertrudis (Wagner, 1937, p. 414; Baker, 190, p. 551).

- ❖ **Point Santa Lucia {838}**: *point of land*, on N coast of San Fernando I., Alex. Arch.; 55°34'15"N, 133°20'30"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys Santa Lutsia, Punta de Santa Lucia.
Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta de Santa Lucia," or "Point of Saint Lucy."

- ❖ **Santa Rita Island {838}**: *island*, 0.9 mi. long, between Baker and Saint Ignace Is. in Port Mayoral, Alex. Arch.; 55°25'00"N, 133°27'30"W; (map 4). *Var.* Isla de Santa Rita, Ysla de Santa Rita.
Named "Isla de Santa Rita," i.e., "Saint Rita Island," by Francisco Antonio Mourelle on "May 22, 1779, in honor of Santa Rita de Csasia whose day it was" (Wagner, 1937, p. 415).

- ❖ **Santa Rosa Point {839}**: *point of land*, S tip of Santa Rita I., between Baker and Saint Ignace Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°24'35"N, 133°27'30"W; (map 4). *Var.* Punta de Santa Rosa.
Spanish name given in 1779 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta de Santa Rosa," or "Point of Saint Rose."

- ❖ **Santa Rosalia Point {839}**: *point of land*, on N coast of San Fernando I., Alex. Arch.; 55°34'15"N, 133°24'45"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys Santa Rosalia, Punta de Santa Rosalia, Punta Santa Rosalia, Rosalia Point.
Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta de Santa Rosalia" or "Saint Rosalie Point."

- ❖ **Santa Theresa Point {839}**: *point of land*, 0.9 mi. N of Cone I., on SE coast of Noyes I., Alex. Arch.; 55°27'05"N, 133°38'30"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys Santa Tereza, Punta de Santa Theresa, Santa Teresa.
The name "Punta de Santa Theresa," or "Point Theresa Point," was applied by Francisco Antonio Mourelle to the south point of Noyes Island {Saint Nicholas Point} "*** probably on that saint's day May 19, 1779" (Wagner, 1937, p. 513). The name was reapplied to its present location in 1923 by USC&GS.

- ❖ **Sombrero Island {897}**: *island*, 750 ft. across, in San Alberto Bay, 2 mi. NW of Abess I., Alex. Arch.; 55°34'05"N, 133°14'05"W; BGN 1923; (map 4). *Var.* El Sombrero, Sombrero, Sombrero Islet.
 Spanish name given in 1779 by Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "El Sombrero," meaning "the hat." This name was formally applied to its present location in 1923 by USC&GS; previously its application was not clearly defined and in limited use.

- ❖ **Suemez Island {924}**: *island*, 9.5 mi. across, E of Bucareli Bay, Alex. Arch.; 55°16'N, 133°21'W; (map 4). *Var.* Isla de Guemes, Isla Suemez, Ostrov Syumetsy.
 Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Isla Suemez," i.e. "Suemez Island"; shown as "Guemes" by D.A. Galiano (1802, map 2). It may have been named "Guemes" for "the Viceroy" (Wagner, 1937, p. 460).²⁵⁶

- ❖ **Cape Suspiro {934}**: *point of land*, on W coast of Prince of Wales I., 1 mi. S of Craig, Alex. Arch.; 55°27'30"N, 133°08'30"W; (map 4). *Var.* Cabo Suspiro, Mys Suspiro.
 Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Cabo Suspiro," meaning "cape sigh (hissing of the wind)."

- ❖ **Tranquil Point {982}**: *point of land*, on W coast of Prince of Wales I., 7 mi. SW of Craig, Alex. Arch.; 55°23'00"N, 133°13'30"W; (map 4). *Var.* Mys del Sosiyeo, Punta del Sosiego, Punta Sosiego.
 Translation of the name "Punta del Sosiego," or "point of tranquility," given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle.

- ❖ **Triste Island {985}**: *island*, 150 ft. long, in Port Real Marina, on NE coast of Baker Is., NE of Triste Point, Alex. Arch.; 55°25'15"N, 133°29'45"W; (map 4). *Var.* Ostrov Triste, Isla Triste, Ysla Triste.
 Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Isla Triste," meaning "sorrowful island."

²⁵⁶ Named for Conde de Revillagigedo, Don Juan Vicente de Guemes Pacheco de Pedilla.

- ❖ **Trocadero Bay {985}**: *bay*, extends SE 11 mi. off Bucareli Bay, on W coast of Prince of Wales I., Alex. Arch.; 55°24'N, 133°08'W; (map 4). *Var.* Canos del Trocadero, Frocadero Bay, Big Harbor.

Named "Canos del Trocadero" on June 1, 1779, by Francisco Antonio Mourelle. "Trocadero was the name of a fort in the Bay of Cadiz. Adopted by Capt. George Vancouver, RN, under the same name, except that he spelled it with an F" (Wagner, 1937, p. 420).

- ❖ **Port Valdes {1016}**: *estuary*, 13 mi. long, trends E-W from 3 mi. NE of Valdez Arm to its head at Valdez, Chugach Mts.; 61.05°N, 146.39°W; BGN 1913; (map 68). *Var.* Puerto de Valdes.

Named on June 16, 1790, by Don Salvador Fidalgo for the celebrated Spanish naval officer Antonio Valdes y Bazan. Having been adopted by Capt. Vancouver, the name came into local use (Wagner, 1937, p. 420).

- ❖ **La Ventura {1019}**: *island*, "in the northeast part of San Alberto Bay, Bucareli Bay," Alex. Arch.; (map 4). *Var.* Bentura Island, Isla de Bentura.

Spanish name referring to a "woman innkeeper" given by the 1779 Arteaga expedition (Wagner, 1937, p. 522).

- ❖ **Verde Point {1019}**: *point of land*, N point of entrance to Port Refugio, on E coast of Suemez I., Alex. Arch.; 55°18'30"N, 133°17'45"W; (map 4). *Var.* Ostrov Verde, Punta Verde, Point Verde.

Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as "Punta Verde," meaning "Green Point."

Appendix II: General Spanish Place Names²⁵⁷

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- ❖ **Aguirre Bay {52}**: *bight*, 0.7 mi. across, on NW coast of San Fernando I., Alex. Arch.; 55°33'N, 133°27'W; BGN 1923; (map 4).
Spanish name given in 1923 by USC&GS; derived from Pont Aguirre.
- ❖ **Point Alava {61}**: *point of land*, S tip of Revillagigedo I., Alex. Arch.; 55°11'30"N, 131°11'00"W; (map 3).
Named by Capt. George Vancouver, "August 7, 1793, no doubt in honor of Jose Manuel de Alava, who succeeded Bodega as commissioner and as commandant of San Blas ***" (Wagner, 1937, p. 372).
- ❖ **Alava Bay {61}**: *bay*, 2 mi. across, on S coast of Revillagigedo I.; 2.3 mi. NE of Point Alava, Alex. Arch.; 55°13'30"N, 131°07'30"W; (map 3).
Local navigators' name obtained in 1904 by H.C. Fassett, USBF.
- ❖ **Alava Ridge {61}**: *ridge*, on S coast of Revillagigedo I., extends 2.5 mi. NW of Alava Bay, Alex. Arch.; 55°14'45"N, 131°10'00"W; (map 3).
Named in 1883 by Lt. Comdr. H.E. Nichols, USN.
- ❖ **Alberto Island {61}**: *islands*, group extends 2 mi. W of Wasleigh I., in San Alberto Bay, Alex. Arch.; 55°32'N, 133°10'W; BGN 1908; (map 4).
Named in 1897 by LT. Comdr. J.F. Moser, USN.
- ❖ **Alberto Reef {61}**: *rock*, in San Alberto Bay, W of Alberto I., Alex. Arch.; 55°31'40"N, 133°11'55"W; BGN 1908; (map 4).
Local name reported in 1907 by E.F. Dickins, USC&GS.
- ❖ **Point Barrigon {108}**: *point of land*, on NW coast of Suez I., in Port Dolores, Alex. Arch.; 55°19'45"W; 133°25'00"N; (map 4).
Spanish name meaning "potbelly" published in 1932 Coast Pilot (p. 209).

²⁵⁷ El Dorado and Bonanza place names will not be included due to their overuse and loose attachment to the Spanish language.

- ❖ **Benito Creek {124}**: *stream*, flows SW and NW 2.4 mi. to Loraine Creek, 1.9 mi. NE of its mouth on Kotsina River and 77 mi. NE of Valdez, Wrangell Mts.; 61°37'00"N, 144°08'15"W; (map 68).
Local name recorded in 1951 by USGS.

- ❖ **Blanquizal Islands {144}**: *islands*, group, extends 0.8 mi., in San Christoval Channel, on W coast of Prince of Wales I., Alex. Arch.; 55°37'N, 133°24'W; BGN 1908; (map 4).
Spanish word meaning "pipe-clay" given in 1908 by USC&GS; derived from Blanquizal Point.

- ❖ **Bonasila Dome {152}**: *mountain*, 1,807 ft., SE of Two Spot Mtn., 25 mi. NW of Holy Cross, Nulato Hills; 62°19'25"N, 160°29'55"W; (map 78). *Var.* Simel Mountain.
Name reported in 1916 by G.L. Harrington, USGS. It was also known as Simel Mountain after a local resident.

- ❖ **Bonasila Island {152}**: *island*, 3.5 mi. long, in Yukon River, 24 mi. NW of Holy Cross, Nulato Hills; 62°30'N, 160°12'W; (map 78).
Riverboat pilots' name shown on a 1940 "Navigation Chart of the Tanana-Yukon Rivers" published by U.S. Dept. of Interior.

- ❖ **Bonasila River {152}**: *stream*, heads at 62°56'N, 161°12'W, flows SE 125 mi. to Bonasila Slough, 0.7 mi. W of Elkhorn I. in Yukon River and 27 mi. NW of Holy Cross, Nulato Hills; 62°32'N, 160°13'W; (map 78).
Local name shown on a 1916 fieldsheet by R.H. Sargent, USGS. Hrdlicka (1943, p. 50) noted, "Bonasila [buena, good, and silla, seat]- an odd Spanish name for these regions ***." It may be an English form of a native name.

- ❖ **Bonasila Slough {152}**: *stream*, a branch of Yukon River, heads SE of Elkhorn I., flows SE 7 mi., 8 mi. S of Anvik and 21 mi. NW of Holy Cross, Nulato Hills; 62°29'40"N, 160°09'00"W; (map 78). *Var.* Simel Slough.
Name shown on a 1916 fieldsheet by R.H. Sargent, USGS.

- ❖ **Bonita Creek {152}**: *stream*, flows E 1.5 mi., joins New El Dorado Creek to form Osborn Creek, 12 mi. NE of Nome, Seward Penin. High.; 64°38'N, 165°10'W; (map 94).
 Prospectors' name shown on a 1900 "Map of Nome Peninsula" by J.M. Davidson and B.D. Blakeslee.
- ❖ **Bonita Creek {152}**: *stream*, flows N 1 mi. to Canyon Creek which flows to Casadepaga River, 21 mi. NE of Solomon, Seward Penin. High.; 64°51'N, 164°24'W; (map 95).
 Prospectors' name reported in 1905 by T. G. Gerdine, USGS.
- ❖ **Caamaño Point {172}**: *point of land*, S tip of Cleveland Peninsula between Behm Canal and Clarence Strait, Alex. Arch.; 55°30'N, 131°58'W; (map 3). *Var.* Cabo Caamaño, Punta Caamaño.
 The name "Cabo Caamaño" was recorded in 1792 by Jacinto Caamaño and adopted for this feature in 1793 by Capt. George Vancouver, RN (Wagner, 1793, p. 378).²⁵⁸
- ❖ **El Capitan Island {184}**: *island*, 3.5 mi. long, in El Capitan Passage, between Orr and Prince of Wales Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°56'N, 133°19'W; (map 4).
 Named in 1932 by USC&GS because "This is the largest island in the passage and the name is especially appropriate ***." El Capitan is Spanish meaning "the captain."
- ❖ **El Capitan Lake {184}**: *lake*, 0.7 mi. long, N of El Capitan Passage, 4 mi. E of Shakan Bay, on NW coast of Prince of Wales I., Alex. Arch.; 56°10'30"N, 133°23'00"W; (map 6).
 Local name recorded in 1949 by USGS.

²⁵⁸ Wagner is incorrect, Vancouver named this point in honor of Caamaño though the Spaniard unlikely ever viewed this point.

- ❖ **El Capitan Passage {184}**: *water passage*, extends 27 mi., from Sea Otter Sound to Shakan Strait, between Kosciusko I. and Prince of Wales I., Alex. Arch.; 55°53'N, 133°22'W, to 56°09'N, 133°28'W; BGN 1908; (map 4). *Var.* Dry Pass, Klawak Passage.
Named in 1904 by E.F. Dickins, USC&GS, "after El Capitan Marbel Quarry and Mill, on N shore ***."
- ❖ **El Capitan Peak {184}**: *mountain*, 2,566 ft., 7 mi. NW of Neeck Lake, on N part of Prince of Wales I., Alex. Arch.; 56°11'00"N, 133°18'30"W; (map 6).
Local name used by fishermen and published in 1924 by USC&GS.
- ❖ **Caracol Island {185}**: *island*, 1,600 ft. long, in Portillo Channel, off W coast of San Fernando I., Alex. Arch.; 55°31'15"N, 133°26'50"W; (map 4).
Named and published by USC&GS in 1943; derived from Point Caracol.
- ❖ **Cordova {238}**: *town*, pop. 1, 128, on SE shore of Orca Inlet, opposite Hawkins I., Chugach Mts.; 60°33'N, 145°45'W; (map 64).
Named by Michael J. Heney, builder of the Copper River and Northwestern Railroad, about 1906. A post office was established here in October 1906 (Ricks, 1965, p. 14). The town had its origin as the railroad terminus and ocean-shipping port for the copper ore shipped from the Kennicott mine up the Copper River. "On April 1911, Cordova celebrated 'Copper Day,' when the first trainload of copper ore, approximately 1,200 tons of it, arrived from the mines and was poured into the holds of the steamship *Northwestern*, bound for the smelter at Tacoma {Washington}" (Roguszka, 1964, p. 9). The name of the town was derived from the original name "Puerto Cordova," given to what is now known as Orca Bay, by Señor Don Salvador Fidalgo who visited the region in 1790.
- ❖ **Cordova Glacier {238}**: *glacier*, trends SE 9 mi. to its terminus at Rude Lake, 20 mi. NE of Cordova, Chugach Mts.; 60°49'N, 145°33'W; (map 64).
Local name published in 1952 by USGS.
- ❖ **Cordova Peak {238}**: *peak*, 7, 730 ft., at head of Schwan Glacier, 27 mi. NE of Cordova, Chugach Mts.; 60°50'50"N, 145°27'30"W; BGN 1933; (map 64).
Local name derived from nearby town Cordova; reported in 1925 by USGS.

- ❖ **Point Cruz {250}**: *point of land*, on W coast of Suez I., in Port Santa Cruz, Alex. Arch.; 55°16'15"N, 133°25'30"W; (map 4).
Named and published by USC&GS in 1916; derived from Cruz Islands.

- ❖ **Desconocida Reef {268}**: *reef*, between Gulf of Esquibel and Bocas de Finas, S of Point Desconocida at S tip of Heceta I., Alex. Arch.; 55°41'30"N, 133°31'20"W; (map 4).
Name published in 1943 by USC&GS; derived from Point Desconocida.

- ❖ **El Nido {311}**: *locality*, on W shore of Lisiansky Inlet, on Chichagof I., 2 mi. W of Pelican, Alex. Arch.; 57°58'N, 136°16'W; (map 9).
Spanish name meaning "the nest" reported by A.F. Buddington (in Brooks and others, 1925, fig. 5) USGS. This gold mining camp was established about 1920. There were two camps here, one on the Inlet called the Beach Camp and the other 1.5 miles south near the mine working called El Nido Camp.

- ❖ **El Patrone Creek {311}**: *stream*, flows NW 1 mi. to Canyone Creek, between Coal Creek and Kate and Anna Creek, 23 mi. NW of Solomon, Seward Penin. High; 64°52'N, 164°46'W; (map 85).
Prospectors' name reported on a 1901 map of Cape Nome gold fields by David Fox, Jr.

- ❖ **Esmeralda Mountain {318}**: *mountain*, 1, 970 ft., on W coast of Baker I., Alex. Arch.; 52°20'28"N, 133°37'45"W; BGN 1923; (map 4).
Spanish word meaning "emerald," given in 1923 by USC&GS because this feature is "conspicuous, and vividly green in summer."

- ❖ **Esmerelda Island {318}**: *mountain*, 1,970 ft., on W coast of Baker I., Alex. Arch.; 52°20'28"N, 133°37'45"W; BGN 1923; (map 4).
Spanish word meaning "emerald," given in 1923 by USC&GS because this feature is "conspicuous, and vividly green in summer."

- ❖ **Esperanto Creek {318}**: *stream*, flows NW 4.7 mi. to Madison Creek, 5 mi. N of Madison Mts. and 23 mi. NW of Ophir, Kilbuck-Kuskokwim Mts.; 63°27'N, 156°50'W; (map 90).
Local name reported in 1917 by G.L. Harrington, USGS.

- ❖ **Esperanza Creek {318}**: *stream*, flows NW 8.5 mi. to Goodhope River, 22 mi. NW of Imuruk Lake, Seward Penin. High; 65°48'N, 163°51'W; BGN 1952; (map 110).
Prospectors' name reported in 1901 by USGS (Collier, 1902, pl. 12).
- ❖ **Esquibel Island {318}**: *island*, 2.5 mi. long, in Maurelle Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°38'N, 133°35'W; BGN 1917; (map 4). *Var.* Eel Island.
Named in 1916 by USC&GS; derived from Gulf of Esquibel. See Wagner (1937, p. 38).
- ❖ **Favorita Island {329}**: *island*, 0.6 mi. long, W island of Twin Is., Maurelle Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°39'30"N, 133°40'45"W (map 4).
Spanish name meaning "favorite"; published in the 1925 Alaska Coast Pilot (p. 185).²⁵⁹
- ❖ **Port Fidalgo {331}**: *estuary*, 3 mi. wide and 25 mi. long, on E shore of Prince William Sound, 40 mi. NW of Cordova, Chugach Mts.; 60°47'N, 146°45'W; (map 64). *Var.* Puerto Fidalgo, Puerto Mazarredo.
This estuary was discovered by Señor Don Salvador Fidalgo's launch party on June 14, 1790, but there is no record that he named it. The name is not shown on Capt. Alessandro Malaspina's or Don Bodega y Quadra's maps of 1791. As Capt. George Vancouver, RN, who had Fidalgo's maps, referred to the feature as "Puerto Fidalgo," it can be assumed that the name appeared either on Fidalgo's own map or Vancouver named it for Fidalgo (Wagner, 1937, p. 387). It appears more likely that Fidalgo intended to call this estuary "Puerto de Mazarredo" in honor of Jose de Mazarredo.²⁶⁰
- ❖ **Fortaleza Bay {346}**: *bight*, 1 mi. across, on SE coast of Baker I., Alex. Arch.; 55°18'N, 133°35'W; (map 4).
Named in 1923 by USC&GS; derived from Point Fortaleza
- ❖ **Lake Fortaleza {346}**: *lake*, 0.6 mi. long, W of Fortaleza Bay, on SE coast of Baker I., Alex. Arch.; 55°17'45"N, 133°36'30"W; (map 4).
Named in 1923 by USC&GS; derived from Point Fortaleza.

²⁵⁹ Named for the frigate *Favorita* used during the 1779 voyage.

²⁶⁰ Orth is incorrect in that the *San Carlos* in fact anchored in Port Fidalgo. Also Vancouver never possessed Fidalgo's maps.

- ❖ **Fortaleza Ridge {346}**: *ridge*, 1,500 ft., extends E-W 3 mi. across S end of Baker I., W of Point Fortaleza, 55°17'15"N, 133°37'40"W; (map 4).
Named in 1923 by USC&GS; derived from Point Fortaleza.

- ❖ **Galea Lake {358}**: *lake*, 3 mi. long, on course of Hatchery Creek, central Prince of Wales I., Alex. Arch.; 55°49'15"N, 132°53'00"W; (map 4).
Spanish name meaning "an ancient helmet," recorded in 1949 by USGS.

- ❖ **Galiano Glacier {358}**: *glacier*, heads 11.6 mi. W of head of Black Glacier, trends S 3.2 mi. to its 1961 terminus, 1.6 mi. NE of mouth of Esker Stream and 26 mi. N of Yakutat, St. Elias Mts.; 59°55'40"N, 139° 43'00"W; (map 46).
Named by Russell (1891, p. 89), USGS, for Don Dionisio Alcala Galiano, "the reported writer of the account of Capt. A. Malaspina's voyage to Alaskan shores in 1791."

- ❖ **Islas Bay {463}**: *bay*, 1.7 mi. across, 15 mi. NW of Chichagof, on W coast of Chichagof I., Alex. Arch.; 57°49'N, 136°23'W; (map 9).
Descriptive name given by USC&GS; published in 1928 on Chart 8258. The name is Spanish, meaning "island"; so named "because of the many island in the bay."

- ❖ **Juanita Creek {478}**: *stream*, flows N 1 mi. to California Creek, 15 mi. NE of Shungnak, Brooks Ra.; 66°57'25"N, 156°38'10"W; (map 115).
Prospectors' name reported after 1940 by USGS.

- ❖ **Cape Magdalena- {614}** *point of land*, N point of entrance to Port Bazan, on SW coast of Dall Is., Alex. Arch.; 54°50'10"N, 133°00'30"W; *Var.* Cabo de Santa Maria Magdalena.
According to Baker (1906, p. 421), "* * * Either this cape or Cape Muzon was named 'Cabo de Santa Maria Magdalena' {Cape of St. Mary Magdalene} by Juan Perez, 1774."

- ❖ **Malaspina Glacier {617}**: glacier, 30 mi. across, heads 8 mi. S of Alaska-Canada boundary, trends 28 mi. to Gulf of Alaska, 38 mi. NW of Yakutat, St. Elias Mts.; 59°42'30"N, 140°37'30"W; BGN 1944; (map 46). *Var.* Malaspina Plateau.
 Named Malaspina Plateau in 1874 by W.H. Dall, USC&GS, who at the time did not recognize its true character because of its cover of morainal material. Named for Capt. Don Alessandro Malaspina, Italian navigator and explorer in the service of Spain, who explored the NW coast of North America in 1791. A closer approach to the glacier was made in 1880 and its true character was seen. Since then it has been known as the Malaspina Glacier (U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1883, p. 211).

- ❖ **Manzanita Bay {620}**: *estuary*, extends SW 2 mi. off Behm Canal, between Skirt and Wart Points, on E coast of Revillagigedo I., Alex. Arch.; 55°35'N, 130°58'W; BGN 1929; (map 3).
 Local name reported in 1928 by USFS to have been given for "the lighthouse tender *Manzanita*, detailed on the International boundary work in 1901."

- ❖ **Manzanita Creek {620}**: *stream*, 2 mi. long, drains Manzanita Lake into Manzanita Bay, on E coast of Revillagigedo I., 32 mi. NE of Ketchikan, Alex. Arch.; 55°35'50"N, 130°58'20"W; BGN 1923; (map 3).
 Named in 1923 by USFS.

- ❖ **Manzanita Island {620}**: *island*, 1.2 mi. long, in Behm Canal, E of Wart Point on E coast of Revillagigedo I., Alex. Arch.; 55°35'N, 130°56'W; (map 3).
 Named in 1891 by USC&GS. See Manzanita Bay.

- ❖ **Manzanita Lake {620}**: *lake*, 6 mi. long, in course of Manzanita Creek, on E. coast of Revillagigedo I., Alex. Arch.; 55°34'N, 131°03'W; (map 3). *Var.* Ella Lake, Lake Manzanita.
 Name recorded in 1926 by R.H. Sargent and F.H. Moffit (in Smith and others, 1929, pl. 5), USGS. See Manzanita Bay.

- ❖ **Manzanita Peak {620}**: *mountain*, 2,481 ft., on E coast of Mitkof I., 12 mi. NW of Wrangell, Alex. Arch.; 56°35'30"N, 132°39'00"W; (map 6)
 Named in 1887 by Lt. Comdr. C.M. Thomas, USN, for charting purposes; name published in 1888 on USC&GS Chart 705.

- ❖ **Maquinna Cove {620}**: *cove*, 0.2 mi. across, in Glacier Bay National Monument, on Muir Inlet, 0.5 mi. N of Point George and 57 mi. NW of Hoonah, St. Elias Mts.; 58°51'45"N, 136°03'15"W; (map 10).
Named by members of the American Geographical Society's Glacier Bay Expedition of 1941 (Field, 1947, map) for the SS *Princess Maquinna*, which anchored there on an excursion of Twelfth International Geological Congress in 1913.
- ❖ **Mariposa Rock {623}**: *rock*, at entrance to Steamer Bay, on W coast of Etolin I., 24 mi. SW of Wrangell, Alex. Arch.; 56°10'40"N, 132°44'15"W; (map 6).
Spanish word meaning "butterfly" given in 1918 by USC&GS.
- ❖ **Mariposa Creek {623}** *stream*, flows N 1.5 mi. to Yankee River which flows to Mint River, 35 mi. NW of Teller, Seward Penin. High; 65°38'N, 167°10'W; (map 111).
Prospectors' name reported on the 1908 "Map of Seward Peninsula" by Arthur Gibson.
- ❖ **Mariposa Reef {623}**: *rock*, S of Strait I. in Sumner Strait, between Kupreanof, Kuiu, and Prince of Wales Is., 3 mi. NW of Point Baker, Alex. Arch.; 56°22'45"N, 133°42'00"W; (map 6).
Local name recorded in 1948 by USGS.
- ❖ **Martinez Mountain {625}**: *mountain*, 3,000 ft., between Temnac River and O'Donnell Creek, on E central Attu I., Aleutian Is.; 52°52'25"N, 173°03'25"E; (map 13).
Named by the U.S. Army during World War II; published in 1948 by AMS.
- ❖ **Maurelle Islands {629}**: *islands*, extend 7 mi. W, off Gulf of Esquibel, W coast of Prince of Wales I. Alex. Arch.; 55°39'N, 133°37'W; (map 4).
Named by W.H. Dall, USC&GS, in 1879, for the Spanish navigator Don Francisco Antonio Mourelle who, under the command of Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra made and took part in surveys in this region from 1775 to 1779.
- ❖ **Mexico Point {636}**: *point of land*, on an island at S entrance to Eureka Channel, on SW coast of Prince of Wales I., Alex. Arch.; 54°45'20"N, 132°22'30"W; (map 1).
Local name published by USC&GS in 1899.

- ❖ **Mt. Miramar {647}**: *mountain*, 2,001 ft., highest point on Baker I., Alex. Arch.; 55°19'25"N, 133°36'00"W; BGN 1923; (map 4).
Spanish word meaning "seaview," given in 1923 by USC&GS because this feature "commands a magnificent view of the sea."
- ❖ **Orizaba Reef {728}**: *reef*, off Rock Point, on Norton Sound, 1 mi. N of St. Michael, Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta; 63°31'10"N, 162°01'50"W; (map 92). *Var.* Orazaba
Local name obtained in 1952 by USC&GS; "derived from an old sailing vessel which foundered on it during a storm in days of Russian ownership of the territory."
- ❖ **Oro Fino Creek {728}**: *stream*, flows SE 1.3 mi. to Adams Creek which flows to Shovel Creek, 10 mi. NW of Solomon, Seward Penin. High; 64°42'N, 164°29'W; (map 95).
Prospectors' name reported on a 1902 prospector's manuscript map.
- ❖ **Oro Grande Creek {728}**: *stream*, in Kigluaik Mts., flows NE 8 mi. to Cobblestone River, 30 mil SE of Teller, Seward Penin. High.; 65°01'N, 165°30'W; (map 111).
Local name reported about 1905 by USGS (Collier and others, 1908, pl. 8).
- ❖ **Paloma Pass {737}**: *water passage*, 0.7 mi. long, near W end of Port Real Marina, between Luluand Pigeon Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°26'N, 133°33'W; BGN 1923; (map 4).
Spanish word meaning "pigeon" given in 1923 by USC&GS.
- ❖ **Paso Point {740}**: *point of land*, on SW coast of Unalaska I., Aleutian Is.; 53°23'10"N, 167°41'00"W; (map 23).
Name given by USBF in 1888.
- ❖ **Perl Rock {749}**: *rock*, 500 ft. across, in Gulf of Alaska, 2.5 mi. S of Perl I. and 25 mi. S of Seldovia, Chugach Mts.; 59°05'30"N, 151°41'30"W; BGN 1941; (map 50).
Var. La Monja, Pearl Rock.
Named by USGS in 1941. See Perl Island. This is probably the small island called "La Monja" in August 1779 by Don Ignacio Arteaga.

- ❖ **Pesquera Island {750}**: *island*, 0.3 mi. across, N Maurelle Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°40'40"N, 133°39'30"W; BGN 1925; (map 4).
Spanish name meaning "a place for catching fish," given in 1924 by Capt. Maher, USC&GS, because "surrounding waters thronged with fishing craft, which report an enormous catch."
- ❖ **Pimienta Mountain {756}**: *mountain*, 1,900 ft., on E coast of Baker I., Alex. Arch.; 55°21'30"N, 133°32'00"W; BGN 1923; (map 4). *Var.* Pimento Mountain, Pimienta Mountain.
Spanish word meaning "pepper" given in 1923 by USC&GS; derived from Pepper Point.
- ❖ **Mt. Pinta {759}**: *mountain*, 1,352 ft., on W coast of Chichagof I., 9 mi. NW of Chichagof, Alex. Arch.; 57°46'N, 136°14'W; (map 9).
Name published in 1928 by USC&GS on Chart 8258; probably derived from Pinta Bay at the foot of the mountain to the east.
- ❖ **Mt. Pinta {759}**: *mountain*, 5,530 ft., 3 mi. SE of Mount Ruhamah and 21 mi. NE of Yakutat, St. Elias Mts.; 59°40'55"N, 139°09'35"W; BGN 1962; (map 46).
Named in 1891 by Russell (1892, p. 88) for the *U.S.S. Pinta*, a "fourth rate man-of-war with small armament." It was used in 1885 by Lt. H.T. Allen, USA, and later by other Alaska survey parties.
- ❖ **Pinta Bay {759}**: *bay*, 0.6 mi. across, 7.5 mi. NW of Chichagof, on W coast of Chichagof I., Alex. Arch.; 57°45'10"N, 136°13'00"W; BGN 1926; (map 9). *Var.* Deep Bay.
Named by the USC&GS and published in 1910 on Chart 8250. It was named for the *U.S.S. Pinta* which navigated these waters during the late 19th century. The name at one time applied to Goulding Harbor and Pinta Bay was called "Deep Bay."
- ❖ **Pinta Cove {759}**: *cove*, 0.7 mi. across, at N end of Chichagof I., in Icy Strait, 1.6 mi. SE off of Point Adolphus and 49 mi. W of Juneau, St. Elias Mts.; 58°16'10"N, 135°44'45"W; (map 11).
Named in 1901 by E.F. Dickins, USC&GS and published in the 1901 Coast Pilot (p. 204). The cove is named for the *U.S.S. Pinta*, a navy steamship used in Alaskan waters for several years.

- ❖ **Pinta Head {759}**: *point of land*, on Baranof I., at W end of Peril Strait, in Canoe Pass, 26 mi. NW of Sitka, Alex. Arch.; 57°24'00"N, 135°37'40"W; map (9).
Named in 1884 by Comdr. J.B. Coghlan for the *U.S.S. Pinta*, USC&GS vessel, which navigated these waters. The name was published by USC&GS in the 1891 Coast Pilot (p. 181).
- ❖ **Pinta Lake {759}**: *lake*, 0.2 mi. across, on Baranof I., 1 mi. NW of Lucky Chance Mountain and 12 mi. SE of Sitka, Alex. Arch.; 56°57'30"N, 135°04'00"W; (map 5).
Local name recorded in 1951 by USGS.
- ❖ **Pinta Point {759}**: *point of land*, on N end of Kupreanof I., 3.5 mi. SE of Turnabout I. and 55 mi. E of Sitka, Alex. Arch.; 57°07'12"N, 133°53'20"W; BGN 1937; (map 8).
Named in 1937 by USFS, probably for the Pinta Rocks 3 miles to the west.
- ❖ **Pinta Rock {759}**: *rock*, in Icy Strait, at mouth of Port Frederick, on Chichagof I., 1.5 mi. W of Crist Point and 8.8 mi. N of Hoonah, Alex. Arch.; 58°10'N, 135°27'25"W; (map 11).
Named in 1901 by E.F. Dickens, USC&GS, and published in the 1901 Coast Pilot (p. 207-208). Named for the *U.S.S. Pinta*. See Pinta Cove.
- ❖ **Pinta Rocks {759}**: *rocks*, in Frederick Sound, off NW tip of Kupreanof I., 36 mi. SE of Angoon, Alex. Arch.; 56°05'10"N, 134°00'30"W; (map 9).
Named by USC&GS and published in the 1891 Coast Pilot (p. 141). Named for the *U.S. Pinta*, USC&GS steamer, "which plied these waters."
- ❖ **Pinta Rocks {759}**: *rocks*, in Frederick Sound, off N coast of Kupreanof I., 2.5 mi. S of Turnabout I. and 58 mi. E of Sitka, Alex. Arch.; 57°05'20"N, 133°58'10"W; (map 8).
Named by USC&GS; published in 1891 Coast Pilot (p. 141). The name was derived from the *U.S.S. Pinta*, which navigated these waters.
- ❖ **Pinto Creek {759}**: *stream*, flows N 4 mi. to Savage River, 14 mi. W of Healy, Alaska Ra.; 63°48'45"N, 149°22'20"W; BGN 1948; (map 87).
Name reported by Woodbury Abbey, U.S Army Corps of Engineers, on the blueprint of his 1921 Mount McKinley National Park survey.

- ❖ **Pio Point {760}**: *point of land*, on N shore of North Passage, in Woewodski Harbor on S shore of Admiralty I., 25. SSE of Angoon, Alex. Arch.; 57°10'40"N, 134°16'15"W; BGN 1966; (map 9). *Var.* Pie Point.
Named in 1889 by Lt. Comdr. H. B. Mansfield, USN.

- ❖ **Quadra Lakes {785}**: *lakes*, two, 0.5 mi. long, 1 mi. NW of Boca de Quadra and 5 mi. N of Bactrian Point, Coast Mts.; 55°11'45"N 130°40'00"W; (map 3).
Local name recorded in 1955 by USGS.

- ❖ **Boca de Quadra {785}**: *estuary*, extends SW 34 mi. from Keta River to Revillagigedo Channel, Coast Mts.; 55°04'N, 131°01'W; (map 3). *Var.* Bokay Inlet, Quadra Bay, Quadra Channel.
Spanish name meaning "estuary of Quadra" given in 1792 by Jacinto Caamaño for Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra, who took part in expeditions and made surveys in southeast Alaska in 1775-79; this name was adopted by Capt. George Vancouver, RN, who explored this estuary on August 6, 1793 (Wagner, 1937, p. 404).²⁶¹

- ❖ **Quadra Point {785}** *point of land*, N point of entrance to Boca de Quadra, off Revillagigedo Channel, Coast Mts.; 55°05'10"N, 130°58'50"W; (map 3).
Local name reported in 1904 by H.C. Fassett, USBF.

- ❖ **Revillagigedo Island {803}**: *island*, 55 mi. long and 35 mi. wide, between Prince of Wales Island and mainland, Alex. Arch.; 55°35'N, 131°20'W; BGN 1927; (map 3).
Named August 13, 1793, by Capt. Vancouver, RN, for Don Juan Vicente de Guemes Pacheco de Pedilla, Count of Revilla Ggedo and Viceroy of Mexico, 1789-94. "He [Vancouver] was no doubt influenced by the fact that Caamaño the year before had given the name to an adjoining channel." (Wagner, 1937, p. 405).²⁶²

- ❖ **Rona Island {814}**: *island*, 0.5 mi. across, 7 mi. SW of Dolgoi I., at SW end of Aleutian Ra.; 54°59'N, 161°50'W; (map 25).
Named published in 1949 on a USGS map.

²⁶¹ Not verified, for Caamaño's whereabouts east of Clarence Strait are unknown.

²⁶² Ibid.

- ❖ **Rosa Creek {815}**: *stream*, flows SE 8 mi. to Shaw Creek, 10 mi. NW of Big Delta, Yukon-Tanana High.; 64°16'30"N, 146°04'45"W; (map 101). *Var.* Rosy Creek.
Name reported in 1907 as Rosy Creek by Prindle (1908, pl. 4), USGS; present spelling published in 1912 by USGS.
- ❖ **Rosa Creek {815}**: *stream*, in Rampart Mts., flows S 6 mi. to Morelock Creek 2.5 mi. N of that stream's junc. with Yukon River, 25 mi. NNE of Tanana, Kokrines-Hodzana High.; 65°18'00"N, 151°17'30"W; (map 106).
Prospectors' name reported in 1911 by H.M. Eaking (in Brooks and others, 1912, pl. 13), USGS.
- ❖ **San Christoval Rock {834}**: *rock*, between San Christoval Channel and San Alberto Bay, E of Cruz I., Alex. Arch.; 55°33'50"N, 133°17'40"W; (map 4).
Taken from the Spanish name meaning Saint Christopher; published in 1917 by USC&GS.
- ❖ **San Diego Bay {835}**: *bight*, 1 mi. across, on W shore of Stepovak Bay, near SW end of Alaska Penin., Aleutian Ra.; 55°33'30"N, 160°26'30"W; (map 28).
This local name was reported by Atwood (1911, pl. 2), USGS.
- ❖ **San Francisco Creek {837}**: *stream*, flows, E 4 mi. to Eldorado River near its head, 25 mi. NW of Solomon, Seward Penin. High.; 64°51'N, 164°58'W; (map 95).
Prospectors' name reported in 1900 by E.C. Barnard (in Brooks, 1901, pl. 17), USGS.
- ❖ **San Francisco Creek {837}**: *stream*, flows NE 3.4 mi. to Pargon River, 17 mi. NE of Council and 40 mi. E of Imuruk Lake, Seward Penin. High.; 65°00'N, 163°09'W; (map 110).
Prospectors' name reported on a map of Cape Nome gold fields by David Fox, Jr., dated 1901.
- ❖ **San Jose Creek {837}**: *stream*, flows W 4 mi. to Eldorado River, 20 mi. NW of Solomon, Seward Penin. High.; 64°44'N, 164°59'W; (map 95).
Prospectors' name reported in 1900 by E.C. Barnard (in Brooks, 1901, pl. 17), USGS.

- ❖ **San Juan Bay {837}**: *bay*, 2.8 mi. across, on SE end of Montague I., 58 mi. SE of Seward, Chugach Mts.; 59°49'N, 147°55'W; (map 49).
Local name reported in the early 1950's by USC&GS.
- ❖ **San Juan Cannery {837}**: *locality*, on E coast of Evans I., at SW end of Sawmill Bay, 17 mi. S of Chenega, Chugach Mts.; 60°03'N, 148°04'W; (map 63). *Var.* San Juan.
Name published in 1943 by USC&GS.
- ❖ **San Juan Islands {837}**: *islands*, in Pybus Bay, E of Admiralty I., 6 mi. W of The Brothers and 53 mi. E of Sitka, Alex. Arch.; 57°17'30"N, 134°00'00"W; (map 8).
Name reported in 1924; published in 1928 by USC&GS.
- ❖ **Point Santa Anna {838}**: *point of land*, between Santa Anna Inlet and Seward Passage, on NW coast of Cleveland Penin., Alex. Arch.; 55°59'45"N, 131°57'55"W; (map 3).
Local name published in 1901 by USC&GS.
- ❖ **Santa Anna Inlet {838}**: *estuary*, extends SE 2 mi., off Seward Passage, on NW coast of Cleveland Penin., Alex. Arch.; 55°59'50"N, 131°57'30"W; (map 3).
Local name published in 1901 by USC&GS.
- ❖ **Santa Cruz Creek {838}**: *stream*, flows W 1.5 mi. to Cache Creek which flows to Norton Sound, 9 mi. NE of Lolomon, Seward Penin. High.; 64°36'N, 164°09'W; (map 95).
Prospectors' name shown on Arthur Gibson's "Map of Cape Nome Precinct" dated 1904.
- ❖ **Santa Flavia Bay {838}**: *bay*, extends NE 2.2 mi. off Kiliuda Bay, W of Boulder Bay, on SE coast of Kodiak I.; 57°17'N, 152°52'W; (map 34).
Spanish name published in 1943 by USC&GS. Saint Flavian lived in the fifth century.
- ❖ **Sonora Creek {897}**: *stream*, flows SW 5 mi. to Central Creek 3.5 mi. E of that stream's junction with Goodpaster River and 35 mi. NE of Big Delta, Yukon-Tanana High.; 64°22'N, 144°50'W; (map 101).
Local name reported in 1958 by USGS.

- ❖ **Sonora Creek {897}**: *stream*, flows S 2 mi. to Norton Sound, 15 mi. NW of Nome, Seward Penin. High.; 64°33'N, 165°56'W; (map 94).
Prospectors' name reported in 1900 by E. C. Barnard (in Brooks, 1901, pl. 17), USGS.
- ❖ **Sonora Island {897}**: *island*, 1.2 mi. long, in Maurelle Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°36'30"N, 133°38'30"W; (map 4).
Named in 1925 by USC&GS; derived from Sonora Passage.
- ❖ **Sonora Passage {897}**: *water passage*, extends 3 mi. N from Arriaga Passage, between Saint Joseph I. and Maurelle Is., SE Iphigenia Bay, Alex. Arch.; 55°36'N, 133°40'W; (map 4). *Var.* Arriaga Passage.
Named in 1923 by USC&GS for the Spanish galiot *Sonora*, commanded by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra, who explored this vicinity in 1779.
- ❖ **South Quadra Mountain {903}**: *mountain*, 1,968 ft., on S shore of Boca de Quadra, 3 mi. E of Kah Shakes Point, Coast Mts.; 55°04'15"N, 130°54'45"W; (map 3).
Named in 1883 by Lt. Comdr. H.E. Nichols, USN.
- ❖ **Spanish Islands {905}**: *islands*, extend 4 mi. N off NE tip of Coronation I., 49 mi. NW of Craig, Alex. Arch.; 55°57'N, 134°07'W; (map 4). *Var.* Iles des Espagnols.
The name "Iles des Espagnols," or "Spanish Islands," was given on August 8, 1786, by La Perouse who "applied [the name] to Warren Island" (Wagner, 1937, p. 451). W.H. Dall applied this name to "Warren and Coronation Islands and adjacent islets and rocks ***" (U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1883, p. 99). The name as presently applied was published by Baker (1906, p. 592), USGS.
- ❖ **Tabasco Creek {939}**: *stream*, flows SE 2.4 mi. to Sawpit Creek, 30 mi. S of Aniak, Kilbuck-Kuskokwim Mts.; 61°08'N, 159°28'W; (map 73).
Prospectors' name "from tabasco sauce" reported by USC&GS in 1948.
- ❖ **Teocalli Mountains {956}**: *range*, 6,060 ft., E of South Fork Kuskokwim River, extends N 40 mi. from junc. of Styx River, 80 mi. SE of McGrath, Alaska Ra.; 62°14'N, 153°17'W; (map 80).
So named in 1898 by J.E. Spurr, USGS, "because of the fancied resemblance to the Aztec temples."

- ❖ **Teresa Creek**{957}: *stream*, on E coast of Alaska Penin., flows SE 4.3 mi. to Puale Bay, 44 mi. NW of Karluk, Aleutian Ra.; 57°44'20"N, 155°37'05"W; (map 35). *Var.* Terrace Creek.

Local name obtained from J.L. McPherson of Iliamna in 1903 by G.C. Martin, USGS. This stream was called "Terrace Creek" by R.H. Sargent, USGS, in 1923.

- ❖ **Trasera Island** {982}: *island*, 0.2 mi. across, central Maurelle Is., Alex. Arch.; 55°38'05"N, 133°36'25"W; (map 4)

Spanish name meaning "back (posterior part);" recorded in 1951 by USGS.

- ❖ **Triste Point** {985}: *point of land*, 1.3 mi. W of Santa Rita I., on NE coast of Baker I., Alex. Arch.; 55°25'15"N, 133°30'00"W; BGN 1923; (map 4).

Spanish word meaning "sorrowful" given in 1923 by USC&GS; derived from Triste Island.

- ❖ **Valdez** {1016}: *town*, pop 555, on E end of Port Valdez 45 mi. NW of Cordova and 115 mi. E of Anchorage, Chugach Mts.; 61°07'N, 146°16'W; (map 68). *Var.* Copper City.

Town established in 1898 as a debarkation point, with an excellent ice-free harbor, for men seeking a route to the Klondike gold region. It was originally called "Copper City" but name was changed when the Valdez post office was established in 1899. Valdez soon became the supply center of its own gold mining region. The town is located on the distributary delta of Valdez Glacier, and was severely damaged during the 1964 Good Friday earthquake. Plans are being made to move the town to more stable ground three miles northwest. The population of Valdez was 810 in 1910; 466 in 1920; 442 in 1930; 529 in 1939; and 554 in 1950.

- ❖ **Valdez Arm**{1016}: water passage, 15 mi. long, connects Prince William Sound and Port Valdez 12 mi. W of Valdez, Chugach Mts.; 60°53'N, 146°54'W; BGN 1913; (map 64). *Var.* Port Valdez, Valdez Bay.

Named about 1910 by USC&GS.

- ❖ **Valdez Camp** {1016}: *locality*, 2.4 mi. N of West Peak and 6 mi. NE of Valdez, Chugach Mts.; 61°11'40"N, 146°12'15"W; (map 68).

This was the name of a mining camp reported in 1911 by USGS.

- ❖ **Valdez Creek {1016}**: *stream*, flows SW 14 mi. to Susitna River, 66 mi. SE of Healy, Alaska Ra.; 63°10'N, 147°30'W; (map 87).
Local name reported in 1908 by F.H. Moffit (in Brooks and others, 1909, p. 159), USGS.
- ❖ **Valdez Glacier {1016}**: *glacier*, heads 0.7 mi. S of Mount Cashman, trends SE 22 mi. to its terminus, 2 mi. SE of West Peak and 4 mi. NE of Valdez, Chugach Mts.; 61°08'45"N, 146°09'30"W.
Named in 1898 by Capt. W.R. Abercrombie, USA.
- ❖ **Valdez Narrows {1017}**: *water passage*, trends SW 2 mi. from Port Valdez to Valdez Arm, 14 mi. SW of Valdez, Chugach Mts.; 61°03'15"N, 146°40'30"W; (map 68). *Var.* Stanton Narrows, Valdes Narrows.
Named "Valdes Narrows" in 1898 by Captain W.R. Abercrombie, USA. He also called the passage "Stanton Narrows."
- ❖ **Vallenar Bay {1017}**: *estuary*, extends SE 2 mi., off Clarence Strait, on NW coast of Gravina I., Alex. Arch.; 55°23'30"N, 131°51'30"W; (map 3).
Named in 1883 by Lt. Comdr. H.E. Nichols, USN. See Vallenar Point.
- ❖ **Vallenar Creek {1017}**: *stream*, flows NW 4 mi. to Vallenar Bay, on Gravina I., Alex. Arch.; 55°22'35"N, 131°49'40"W; BGN 1962; (map 3).
Local name reported in 1961 by USFS.
- ❖ **Vallenar Point {1017}**: *point of land*, N tip of Gravina I., Alex. Arch.; 55°25'35"N, 131°51'00"W; (map 3).
Named by Capt. Vancouver, RN, "August 13, 1793, no doubt after his friend Ambrosio O'Higgins de Vallenar, Viceroy of Chile" (Wagner, 1937, p. 420); O'Higgins, of Ballenagh, Ireland, naturalized in Chile, became a national hero.
- ❖ **Vallenar Rock {1017}**: *rock*, between Clarence Strait and Tongass Narrows, 16 mi. NW of Vallenar Point, Gravina I., Alex. Arch.; 55°25'50"N, 131°51'46"W; BGN 1966; (map 3). *Var.* Vallenar Rocks.
Named in 1885 by Lt. Comdr. H. E. Nichols, USN.

- ❖ **Ventura Creek {1019}**: *stream*, flows W 0.5 mi. to Alma Creek, 18 mi. NE of Solomon, Seward Penin. High.; 64°48'N, 164°10'W; (map 95).
Prospectors' name reported on a 1902 prospector's manuscript map.
- ❖ **Mount Veta {1020}**: *mountain*, 5,825 ft., 15 mi. NW of Kechumstuk Mtn. and 68 miles SW of Eagle, Yukon-Tanana High.; 64°12'N, 143°00'W; (map 102).
Named by prospectors and shown on a manuscript map compiled in 1902 by Maj. William A. Glassford, USA.
- ❖ **Veta Bay {1020}**: *bay*, 3 mi. wide, on W coast of Baker I., 21 mi. SW of Craig, Alex. Arch.; 55°21'N, 133°39'W; BGN 1923; (map 4).
Spanish word meaning "a vein (or stripe of mineral)," given in 1923 by USC&GS, because "it is bordered by bluffs of veined or striped rock."
- ❖ **Veta Creek {1020}**: *stream*, flows SE 6 mi. to Kechumstuk Creek, 68 m. SW of Eagle, Yukon-Tanana High.; 64°08'30"N, 142°54'40"W; (map 102).
Local name derived from Mount Veta; published in 1956 by USGS.
- ❖ **Veta Point {1020}**: *point of land*, on W coast of Baker I., N point of entrance to Veta Bay, Alex. Arch.; 55°22'05"N, 133°38'45"W; (map 4).
Named in 1923 by USC&GS. See Veta Bay.
- ❖ **Vista Creek {1022}**: *stream*, flows NW 1 mi. to Nugget Creek, 1.8 mi. E of 1962 terminus of Mendenhall Glacier and 8.5 mi. NW of Juneau, Coast Mts.; 58°25'15"N, 134°29'00"W; (map 11).
Local name published in 1962 by USGS

Appendix III: Obsolete Place Names

{201} Page Number in the Dictionary of Alaska Place Names.

- ❖ Riachuelo de Agua Dulce {51}: *stream*, flows NNW 5 mi. to Disenchantment Bay, 2 mi. E of Point Latouche; 59°54'N, 139°35'W; (map 46).
Spanish name, meaning "little stream of fresh water," published by Capt. Alessandro Malaspina on a 1791 "plano." LOCATION UNKNOWN

- ❖ Akutan Pass {59}: *water passage*, between Unalaska and Akutan Is., Aleutian Is.; 54°01'N, 166°03'00"W; BGN 1890; (map 23). *Var.* Aloutan Pass, Akoutanskoi Pass, Akutan Strait, Paso de Sanganoac, Proliv Akutanskiy, Proliv Akutanskoy.
Name published by Capt. Lutke (1836, p. 289, 304, 305), IRN, as "Le detroit d'Akoutan" and as "Le detroit Akoutanskoi." Capt. Tebenkov (1852, map 56), IRN, published the name as "P[roliv] Akutanskiy," meaning "Akutan Strait." Baker (1906, p. 88) suggests that this feature may possibly be the same as "**Paso de Sanganoac**" recorded by Galiano (1802, map 3).

- ❖ Port Chalmers {197}: *bay*, 2 mi. Long, on NW coast of Montague I., 4 mi. W of Montague Peak, Chugach Mts.; 60°14'30"N, 147°17'00"W; (map 63). *Var.* Careening Harbor, Chalmer Harbor, Chalmers Harbor, Chalmer's Harbour, **Puerto de Flores**.
Named reported in 1787 as "Chalmer's Harbour" by Capt. Portlock (1789, map facing p. 215), RN. The bay was probably named by Portlock "because they anchored here from May 2-14, 1787" (Wagner, 1937, p. 380).
It was called "**Puerto de Flores**" by Esteban Jose Martinez in honor of the Viceroy, Manuel Antonio Flores, when he took possession June 1, 1788. Martinez was there from May 28 to June 15 (ibid., p. 454).

- ❖ Port Chatham {201}: *bay*, 1.5 mi. wide, on S coast of Kenai Penin., 2 mi. N of Elizabeth I. and 16 mi. S of Seldovia, Chugach Mts.; 59°12'30"N, 151°47'00"W; (map 50). *Var.* **Ensenada de Nuestra Señora de Regla**.
Named in 1794 by Capt. George Vancouver (1798, v.3, p.132), RN, for one of his vessels, the tender *H.M.S. Chatham*. This is probably the bay named by Don Ignacio Arteaga on August 2, 1779, "**Ensenada de Nuestra Señora de Regla**."

- ❖ Chatham Island {201}: *island*, 500 ft. long, at entrance to Port Chatham on Kenai Penin., 16 mi. S of Seldovia, Chugach Mts.; 59°12'30"N, 151°46'30"W; BGN 1908; (map 50). *Var.* **El Sombrero**.
Named by USC&GS in 1908 for Port Chatham. The island was named "**El Sombrero**," meaning "the hat," on an unpublished Spanish map by Don Ignacio Arteaga, Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, and Francisco Antonio Mourelle in 1779.
- ❖ Chatham Strait {201}: *water passage*, extends N 150 mi. from Coronation I. on Gulf of Alaska to junc. of Icy Strait and Lynn Canal, Alex. Arch.; 57°03'N, 134°32'W; (map 9). *Var.* Chirikof Bay, Christian Sound, **Ensenada del Principe**, Menzies Strait.
Named in August 1794 by Capt. George Vancouver, RN, for the Earl of Chatham, William Pitt Chatham, 1708-78; English statesman (Wagner, 1937, p. 380). It was called "Menzies Strait" by the early fur traders, probably for Archibald Menzies, a naturalist who accompanied Vancouver. The southern part of the strait was called "Christian Sound" in 1789 by J. Colnett and "Tschirikow Bay" in 1786 by La Perouse. In 1775 this portion of the strait was also called "**Ensenada del Principe**," meaning "teacher of the prince," by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra.
- ❖ Chirikof Island {212}: *island*, 11 mi. long in Pacific Ocean, 100 mi. SW of Kodiak I.; 55°50'N, 155°37'W; BGN 1890; (map 32). *Var.* Akamok, Chirikoff, Chirikov, Elkamok, Foggy Island, **Isla Infante**, Ookamok, Oukamok, Tchirikoff, Tscherikow, Tscherikow's Island, Tschirikoff, Tumannoi, Ugamok, Ukamok, Yukamak.
Name published by USC&GS in 1868. Baker (1906, p. 179-80) says "*** The island appears to be the Tumannoi {foggy} Island of [Vitus] Bering, 1741 ***." Capt. James Cook (1785, v. 2 p. 410), RN, in 1778 says "*** and it is distinguished in our chart by the name of Foggy Island; having reason to believe, from its situation, that is the same which had the name given to it by Bering ***." This may be the island called "**Isla Infante**" by Martinez on July 5, 1788 (Wagner, 1937, p. 463).

- ❖ Clarence Strait {221}: *water passage*, 126 mi. long, from Dixon Entrance to Sumner Strait, along E coast of Prince of Wales I., Alex. Arch.; 54°45'N, 131°42'W [southeast end]; *Var.* Clarence Sound, Duke of Clarence Strait, **Entrada de Nuestra Señora del Carmen**.

Named by Capt. George Vancouver, RN, about September 20, 1793, for Prince William Henry, one of the sons of King George III of England (Wagner, 1937, p. 449). Lt. Don Jacinto Caamaño on July 23, 1792, called that part of the water passage between Prince of Wales Island and Cleveland Peninsula, "**Entrada de Nuestra Señora del Carmen**."²⁶³

- ❖ Cross Sound {249}: *water passage*, 12 mi. long, trends from Icy Strait SW to Gulf of Alaska, N of Soapstone Point, 45 mi. W of Hoonah, St. Elias Mts.; 58°08'N, 136°35'W; (map 10). *Var.* **Entrada de la Cruz**, Icy Strait, Kresta Strait, Lohtianoi, **Puerto de la Cruz**.

So named in 1778 by Capt. Cook (1785, v.2, p. 345), RN., because it was discovered on May 3, designated on his calendar as Holy Cross Day. It has been called "Pr[oliv] Kresta" meaning "cross sound" and "Pr[oliv] Ledyanoy" meaning "icy strait" by the Russians. The Spanish explorers called the passage "**Entrada de la Cruz**" meaning "entry of the cross" and "**Puerto de la Cruz**" meaning "port of the cross." The name originally included what is now Icy Strait.

- ❖ Dixon Entrance {276}: *water passage*, between Queen Charlotte Is., British Columbia, Canada, and Alex. Arch.; 54°30'N, 133°00'W; (map 1). *Var.* Boundary Strait, Buccleugh Sound, Bucclugh Sound, Dixon's Straits, Douglas Entrance, **Entrada de Perez**, Graenzstrasse, Granitsa Channel, Granitsy Strait, Hancocks Straits, Kaigani Strait, Kaygany Strait.

Named in 1787 by Sir Joseph Banks for Capt. George Dixon, who visited it and called it "Dixons Strait" (Wagner, 1937, p. 385). Baker (1906, p. 220) wrote "Dixon's Entrance was discovered by the Spaniards [probably Juan Perez], in 1774, and called **Entrada de Perez** [Perez Entrance]."

²⁶³ It is unclear whether or not Caamaño gave the entire inlet this name, or simply a bay, cove, or harbor.

- ❖ East Chugach Island {295}: *island*, 4 mi. long, off S tip of Kenai Penin., 22 mi. S of Seldovia, Chugach Mts.; 59°08'N, 151°28'W; BGN 1908; (map 50). *Var.* **Isla de San Angel**.

Local name reported by USC&GS in 1908. This island was called "**Isla (or Ysla) de San Angel**" by Don Ignacio Arteaga about August 1, 1779, "after El Santo Angel celebrated in Tortosa August 2" (Wagner, 1937, p. 496).²⁶⁴

- ❖ Cape Edgecumbe {301}: *point of land*, on S coast of Kruzof I., 20 mi. W of Sitka, Alex. Arch.; 56°59'45"N, 135°51'00"W; (map 5). *Var.* **Cabo del Engaño**, Cape Edgecombe, Cape Edgcumbe, Cape Edgecombe, Cape Edgkomb, Cape Edjecumbe, Cape Saint Lazaria, Cape Saint Lazarius, Cape Trubitsina, Mys Svataya Lazarya, Mys Trubitsina, Sitka Point, Trubitsin Point.

Named on May 2, 1778 by Capt. Cook (1785, v.2, p. 344), RN, for Mount Edgecumbe. In 1775, F.A. Mourelle and Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra named this point "**Cabo del Engaño**," meaning "cape of deceit."

- ❖ Mount Edgecumbe {301}: *volcano*, 3,201 ft., on S central Kruzof I., 16 mi. W of Sitka, Alex. Arch.; 57°03'N, 135°45'W; (map 9). *Var.* Gora Edgkom, Gora Edzhkomb, Mount Saint Hyacinthe, Mount Saint Lazaria, **Mount San Jacinto**, Mount Edgecumbe, Svataya Lazarya.

Named in 1778 by Capt. James Cook, RN, "probably after Mt. Edgecumbe at the entrance of Plymouth Harbor, England, but possibly after George, the first Earl of Edgecumbe. The name was adopted by Vancouver" (Wagner, 1937, p. 385). This feature was also called "**Montana de San Jacinto**," or "**Saint Jacinto Mountain**," on August 16, 1775, by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra, "in honor of the saint whose day it was" (Wagner, p. 501).

- ❖ Elizabeth Island {310}: *island*, 3 mi. across, in Chugach Is., 20 mi. SW of Seldovia, Chugach Mts.; 59°10'N 151°50'W; BGN 1908; (map 50). *Var.* Cape Elizabeth Island, Isla San Aniceto.

Named for the west point of the island which Capt. James Cook, RN, called "Cape Elizabeth," because he did not realize the point was on an island. It was originally called "Cape Elizabeth Island," but changed to "Elizabeth Island" by USC&GS. It was called "**Isla San Aniceto**" by Arteaga on August 2, 1779.

²⁶⁴ Named **Isla de Matute** by Salvador Fidalgo in 1790.

- ❖ Cabo Español {318}: *point of land*, “The name must have been given to the present Cape Hinchinbrook by Salvador Fidalgo when he entered Prince William Sound May 24, 1790. He says he located it in 60°15’30”, nearly the latitude of Cape Hinchinbrook. Nevertheless on [Capt. Alessandro] Malaspina’s map we find the name attached to the point now called St. Elias in 59°50’N at the south end of Kayak Island and he refers to it as in 59°59’N (Wagner, 1937, p. 451). LOCATION UNKNOWN.

- ❖ Port Etches {319}: *bay*, 10 mi. long, on SW coast of Hinchinbrook I., 30 mi. SW of Cordova, Chugach Mts.; 60°20’N, 146°37’W; (map 64). *Var.* Noocheck, Nooscha, Nuchek, Nutschek, Port Rose, **Puerto de Santiago**.
 Named by Capt. Portlock (1789, p. 244) in July 1787, presumably for John Cadman Etches, who with “other traders entered into a commercial partnership, under the title of the King George’s Sound Company, for carrying a fur trade from the western coast of America to China (1789, p. 4). The bay was named “**Puerto de Santiago**,” July 23, 1779, by Don Ignacio Arteaga as a novena was prepared to celebrate the saint’s day on July 25.

- ❖ Forrester Island {346}: *island*, 5.2 mi. long, in Pacific Ocean, 20 mi. W of Dall I., Alex. Arch.; 54°48’N, 133°31’W; (map 1). *Var.* Douglas Island, San Blas Island, San Carlos Island, **Santa Catalina Island**, **Santa Cristina Island**.
 Named by Capt. George Dixon “about July 1, 1787 and named no doubt after his steward, Henry Forrester” (Wagner, 1937, p. 388). Capt. George Vancouver, RN, adopted Dixon’s name in 1793, giving it permanency. Juan Perez called it “**Santa Christina**” in 1774; F.A. Mourelle called it “**San Carlos**” in 1775.

- ❖ Glacier Island {370}: *island*, 8.5 mi. across, in Prince William Sound, 48 mi. NE of Whittier, Chugach Mts.; 60°53’N, 147°11’W; (map 63). *Var.* **Isla del Conde**.
 Reported in 1898 by Capt. Abercrombie (Glenn and Abercrombie, 1899, map), USA. “According to Salvador Fidalgo’s account of his expedition this island [named **Isla del Conde**] was at the mouth of the bay which his launch party named ‘**Revilla Gigedo**’ and was no doubt so named because **Revilla Gigedo** was a count” (Wagner, 1937, p. 443).

- ❖ Cape Hinchinbrook {422}: *point of land*, on S tip of Hinchinbrook I., 35 mi. SW of Cordova, Chugach Mts.; 60°14'N, 146°39'W (map 64). *Var.* Cape Hinchinbroke, Mys Morsky, **Punta de Español, Punta de Arcadio, Punta de San Luis**.
Named in 1778 by Capt. James Cook RN, “after Viscount Hinchinbrook, John Montague’s father, and afterward used by several navigators ***” (Wagner, 1937, p. 392). See also Español, Cabo.

- ❖ Hinchinbrook Island {422}: *island*, 22 mi. long, at SE entrance to Prince William Sound, 15 mi. SW of Cordova, Chugach Mts.; 60°23'N, 146°28'W; BGN Sixth Report; (map 64). *Var.* Chinchinbrook Island, Hinchinbroke Island, **Isla de la Magdalena**, Khta-aluk Island, Nuchek Island, Ostrov Khtagalyuk, Ostrov Tkhalka, Rose Island, Santa Maria Magdalena.
Named on May 12, 1778, by Capt. James Cook, RN, for Viscount Hinchinbroke. The island was called “**Santa Maria Magdalena**,” or “**Saint Mary Magdalen**,” by Don Ignacio Arteaga on July 22, 1779 (Wagner, 1937, p. 392).

- ❖ Icy Cape {442}: *point of land*, at NW entrance to Icy Bay, 75 mi. NW of Yakutat, Malaspina Coastal Plain; 59°56'45"N, 141°42'00"W; (map 47). *Var.* Ledianoi, Ledyanoi, **Punta Olavide**.
This name appears to be a translation published by USC&GS in 1868 of the Russian name shown as Ledyanoi, “M[ys]” (Cape Icy) by Capt. Tebenkov (1852, map 7), IRN. See Icy Bay. This appears to be also the “**Punta Olavide**” of Capt. Alessandro Malaspina, named in July 22, 1791. See Wagner (1937, p. 479).

- ❖ Iliamna Volcano {449}: *volcano*, 10,016 ft. at head of Tuxedni Glacier, 60 mi. E of Nondalton, Aleutian Ra.; 60°02'N, 153°05'W; (map 61). *Var.* Burning Mountain, Montagnas Brillantes, **Volcan de Miranda**
Name published by the Russians as “Sopk[a] Ilymna” (Tebenkov, 1852, map 5). Capt. M.D. Tebenkov stated that the volcano was smoking. This appears to be the volcano called “**Volcan de Miranda**” by the 1779 Don Ignacio Arteaga expedition; probably named in honor of Fernando Bernardo de Quiros y Miranda, the second officer of the vessel *La Princesa*.

- ❖ **Incarnation Point {452}**: *point of land*, N tip of an island, at mouth of Steamboat Bay, NE coast of Noyes I., Alex. Arch.; 55°33'20"N, 133°37'15"W; BGN 1923; (map 4). **Var. Punta de Jesus Maria.**

The Spanish name "**Punta de Jesus Maria**" was given to this feature in 1775 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle; changed to "Incarnation Point" in June 1922 by USC&GS, to avoid name implying irreverence. Wagner (1937, p. 464) applies the Spanish name to Cape Ulitka, on the northwest coast of Noyes Island.

- ❖ **Kayak Island {504}**: *island*, 20 mi. long, in Gulf of Alaska; 62 mi. SE of Cordova, Malaspina Coastal Plain; 59°56'N, 144°23'W; BGN Sixth Report; (map 48). **Var. Carmen Island, Kaiak Island, Kaye's Island, Kay's Island, Kyak Island, Nuestra Señora del Carmen, Saint Elias Island, Beardslee Island.**

It was called "Kayak" by the Russians (Sarichev, 1826, map 5) because of the fancied resemblance of its outline to the Eskimo skin canoe. This island, it is believed, was the one Vitus Bering saw and named Saint Elias in 1741 (Bancroft, 1886, p. 78). Capt. James Cook visited it on May 12, 1778, and buried a bottle with a paper and two small pieces of silver given to him by Dr. Kaye, the chaplain of King George III of England, for this purpose. Because of this, Capt. Cook gave the name "Kaye's Island" to this feature (Wagner, 1937, p. 465). It was called "**Nuestra Señora del Carmen**" or "Isla del Carmen," meaning "Our Lady Carmen" or "Island of [Our Lady] Carmen" by Don I. Arteaga about July 16, 1779, for the saint to whom this day was dedicated (Wagner, 1937, p. 439).

- ❖ **Kodiak Island {535}**: *island*, 100 mi. long, 60 mi. across, in Gulf of Alaska, S of Cook Inlet; 57°20'N, 153°22'W; BGN 1901; (map 34). **Var. Cadiack Island, Codiack, Florida Blanca, Great Island, Kadiak Island, Kadjak Island, Kadyak Island, Kaniag Island, Kichtak, Kikhtak, Kikhtowik, Kodiak Island, Kuktak Island, Rodiac.**

This island, the largest in Alaska, native home to the Kodiak Bear, was first discovered by Stephen Glotov in 1763. "Glotof [sic] however did not land till he reached the last and most eastward of these island, called by the inhabitants Kadyak." (Coxe, 1787, p.124). This island was named "**Florida Blanca**" in 1788 by E.J. Martinez and Lopez de Haro (Baker, 1906, p. 375).

- ❖ Kruzof Island {546}: *island*, 25 mi. long, W of Baranof I. and 10 mi. NW of Sitka, Alex. Arch.; 57°10'N, 135°40'W; BGN 1896; (map 9). *Var.* Crooze Island, Edgescumb Island, Grooze, Krusoff Island, Krusow Island, Kruzoff Island, Kruzow Island, Pitt Island, Saint Hyacinthe, **San Jacinto**, Sitka Island, Tleekh.

The Tlingit Indian name for this island was recorded in 1849 by Capt. Tebenkov (1852, map 7), IRN, as "O[strov] Tlikh." After 1775, when Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra named Mount Edgumbe "Montana de San Jacinto," the island became known as **San Jacinto** or, as La Perouse called it, St. Hyacinthe.... In 1849 Constantin Grewingk called it "Edgescumb or Krusow Island." "Kruzof" was adopted by BGN (Baker, 1906, p. 384).

- ❖ Isla Labastida {560}: *island*, "one of a small group of islands west of Umnak Island."
This name appears on a 1791 map of Bodega y Quadra; probably named by him for his secretary. (Wagner, 1937, p. 465). LOCATION UNKNOWN

- ❖ Islas de Lascano {565}: *islands*, in Unimak Pass off the north end of Unalaska Island.
Var. Archipelago de Lascano. LOCATION UNKNOWN

- ❖ LaTouche Island {566}: *island*, 13 mi. long, between Montague Strait and Latouche Passage, 55 mi. ESE of Seward, Chugach Mts.; 60°00'N, 147°55'W; BGN 1910; (map 63). *Var.* Foot Island, **Isla San Antonio**, Khlikakhlik Island, Ostrov Khlikakhlik.
Named in 1794 by Capt. George Vancouver, RN, probably "after the famous naval commander LaTouche-Treville, of France" (Wagner, 1937, p. 394).²⁶⁵

- ❖ La Touche Point {567}: *point of land*, E point between Disenchantment and Yakutat Bays, 25 mi. N of Yakutat, St. Elias Mts.; 59°54'10"N, 139°37'30"W; (map 46). *Var.* **Punta de la Esperanza**.

Named in 1794 by Lt. Peter Puget (in Vancouver, 1798, v.3, p. 224), RN, undoubtedly for Adm. LaTouche-Treville, French naval commander (Wagner, 1937, p. 394) during the French Revolution and later under Napoleon Bonaparte. In 1791, Capt. Malaspina (Galiano, 1802, map 9) named it "**Punta de la Esperanza**," meaning "point of hope," alluding to his hope of finding the Northwest Passage at the end of Yakutat Bay.

²⁶⁵ Named by Martinez in 1788.

- ❖ **Marmot Island** {623}: *island*, 6 mi. long, 3 mi. E of Afognak I., N of Kodiak I.; 58°13'N, 151°50'W; (map 43). *Var.* Evrashichie Island, **Isla de Camacho**, St. Hermogenes Island.

Translation of USC&GS of "Os[grov] Yevrashichey," from the Russian "Yevrashka," published by Sarichev (1826, map 5). The island was named "St. Hermogenes" on May 25, 1778, by Capt. Cook (1785, v.2, p. 384) and "**Isla de Camacho**" in 1779 by Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle (Baker, 1906, p. 426). Wagner (1937, p. 437) says, "Afognak Island is drawn so out of place on Camacho's map that I have grave doubts about this being Marmot Island, as identified by Baker. It has more the appearance of being Afognak Island proper," The name given by Quadra and Mourelle was probably for the navigator Josef Camacho who copied their map.

- ❖ **Point Martin** {625}: *point of land*, at NW end of Controller Bay, 0.5 mi. N of Whale I. and 2.7 mi. SW of Katalla, Malaspina Coastal Plain; 60°11'N, 144°36'W; (map 64). *Var.* Cape Martin, **Punta de Eguia**, **Punta Nodales**.

Named in 1794 by Capt. Vancouver (1798, v.3, p. 217), RN, who wrote, there are "two rocky islets lying off the northwest point of Controller Bay which after Sir Henry Martin, I called Point Martin ***." It was called "**Punta de Eguia**" by Don Ignacio Arteaga in July, 1779, probably for "Manuel de Eguia, a brigadier in the Spanish navy who wrecked in 1787 in the *San Pedro Alcantara* while enroute from Callao to Cadiz" (Wagner, 1937, p. 449). The "**Punta Nodales**" of Capt. Alessandro Malaspina appears to be this point of land also. He named it thus July 16, 1791.

- ❖ **Middleton Island** {640}: *island*, 19 mi. long, in Gulf of Alaska, 80 mi. SW of Cordova, Malaspina Coastal Plain; 59°26'N, 146°20'W; (map 48). *Var.* Achakoo Island, Achek Island, Atchaka Island, Galiano Island, **Isla de Hijosa**, Middleton Island, Ostrov Kockeck, **Rasa Island**.

Named in 1794 by Capt. George Vancouver, RN, probably after Sir Charles Middleton, a rear admiral and comptroller of the navy. In 1788 it had been discovered by [E.J.] Martinez first named it "**Hijosa**." In 1791 Malaspina first named it "**Rasa**" but soon changed this to "**Galiano**" (Wagner, 1937, pp. 397-398).

- ❖ Montague Island {651}: *island*, trends NE-SW 50 mi., in Prince William Sound, 76 mi. E of Seward, Chugach Mts.; 60°10'N, 147°15'W; BGN 1900; (map 63). *Var.* **Isla de Quiros**, Montagu Island, Ostrov Tsukli, Tsukli Islands.

This island was named "Montagu" by Capt. James Cook, RN, on May 18, 1778, for John Montagu, Earl of Sandwich, the son of Viscount Hinchinbroke (Wagner, 1937, p. 398). It was called "**Isla de Quiros**" or "Quiros Island" by the Spaniards in the late 1700's.

- ❖ Montague Point {651}: *point of land*, on N tip of Montague I., above NW entrance to Rocky Bay, 36 mi. ENE of Chenega, Chugach Mts.; 60°22'30"N, 147°05'15"W; (map 63). *Var.* **Punta de Aliaga**.

Named in 1902 by Ferdinand Westdahl, USC&GS. It was called "**Punta de Aliaga**" by Don Ignacio Arteaga in 1779.

- ❖ Bajo Pamplona {737}: *reef*, in Gulf of Alaska, off Mt. Elias; (map 47). *Var.* Orel Rocks, Pamplona Bank, Pamplona Rocks, Roca Pamplona.

This reef seems to have been first reported July 15, 1779, by Jose de Canizares. Several other diaries of the Spanish expedition also mention the reef although Don Ignacio Arteaga and one of the others expressed opinions that it was only some white wood floating on the water. On Camacho's map of the expedition, the shoal appears at about 59°10'N off Mount St. Elias (Wagner, 1937, p. 481). Capt. Vancouver, (1798, v.3, p. 225), RN, refers to it as "Roca Pamplona of the Spaniards." Capt. Tebenkov, IRN, relates that Talin, mate of the Russian vessel *Orel*, meaning "Eagle," saw it in 1794 and named it *Orel* after his ship (Baker, 1906, p. 488). This feature was never subsequently found and what was seen may have been a tide rip and discolored water, which is common in this area, or a grounded mass of ice from Malaspina Glacier, which was more extensive then.

- ❖ Perl Island {749}: *island*, 3 mi. long, in Chugach Is., 22 mi. S of Seldovia, Chugach Mts.; 59°07'N, 151°40'W; BGN 1941; (map 50). *Var.* Isla de Arriaga, Pearl Island, Middle Chugach Island.

Called "Islands of Pearl" by the Harriman Alaska Expedition (1902, p. 360)...This island was named "**Isla de Arriaga**" about August 1, 1779, by Don Ignacio Arteaga "probably after his second pilot, Juan Pantoja y Arriaga" (Wagner, 1937, p. 428).²⁶⁶

²⁶⁶ Fidalgo named it **Isla de Bertodano** in 1790.

- ❖ Cape St. Elias {825}: *point of land*, on SW end of Kayak I., 65 mi. SE of Cordova., Malaspina Coastal Plain; 59°54'N, 144°36'W; BGN 1944; (map 48). *Var.* **Cabo Español**, Hamond Point, Mys Gamon, **Punta de Canas**, **Punta de Navia**, **Punta Español**, **Punta Santa Rosa**.

Named by Vitus Bering on July 20, 1741 (O.S.), for the saint whose day it was. This feature was also called "**Santa Rosa**" in 1779 by Don Ignacio Arteaga; "**Español**" in 1791 by Capt. Alessandro Malaspina; "**Punta de Canas**," meaning "point of reeds," in 1796, by T.M. Lopez. Capt. George Vancouver, RN, named it "Hamond Point" in 1794 for Sir Andrew Snape Hamond (Wagner, 1937, p. 406). See also **Español**, **Cabo**.

- ❖ Salisbury Sound {830}: *water passage*, between Kruzof and Chichagof I., 26 mi. NW of Sitka, Alex. Arch.; 57°22'N, 135°50'W; BGN Sixth Report; (map 9). *Var.* Bay of Islands, Chastyie Ostrova, Klokacheff Sound, Olga Sound, Olga Strait, Proliv Olgi, **Puerto de los Remedios**, **Bahia de las Islas**.

Named in 1787 by Capt. Nathaniel Portlock, "in honor of Bishop Salisbury" (Wagner, 1937, p. 407). This feature was also called "**Puerto de los Remedios**" meaning "Port of the Remedies," in 1775 by Francisco Antonio Mourelle; "Bay of Islands" on May 2, 1778, by Capt. James Cook, RN (Wagner, p. 464).²⁶⁷

- ❖ Cabo San Augustin {833}: *point of land*, "in the Gulf of Esquibel at the south entrance to Bocas de Finas," Alex. Arch.; (map 4).

Name found on maps of the 1779 Arteaga expedition. LOCATION UNKNOWN.

- ❖ Sanak Island {834}: *island*, 13 mi. long, largest of Sanak Is., 37 mi. SE of False Pass, Aleutian Ra.; 54°25'N, 162°40'W; BGN 1919; (map 25). *Var.* Halibut Island, Issanak Island, **Islas des Plies**, Sannach Island, Sannak Island, Sannakh Island.

Aleut name published by G.A. Sarichev (1826, map 3) as "Os[trouv] Sannakh," or "Sannakh Island." The name "Halibut" was given to this island by Capt. James Cook, RN (1785, v.2, p. 416-17), because his crew caught more than 100 halibut weighing from 20 to 100 pounds each, off the coast in 1778. The island was called "**Islas des Plies** [pez]" meaning "islands of fish" by Don Dionisio A. Galiano (1802, Atlas Chart 3).²⁶⁸

²⁶⁷ **Remedios** is likely Sea Lion Cove not Salisbury Sound.

²⁶⁸ Named by Martinez and Lopez de Haro in 1788.

- ❖ **Punta de San Carlos** {834}: *point of land*, “the south point to the entrance of Port Etches, on Hinchinbrook Island”; (map 64).
Named in July, 1779, by Don Ignacio Arteaga during his stay in Port Etches.
LOCATION UNKNOWN.
- ❖ **Punta San Cosme** {834}: *point of land*, “in east part of Bucareli Bay, at the entrance to Trocadero Bay, on Prince of Wales Island,” Alex. Arch. (map 4).
Name found on the maps of the 1779 Arteaga expedition (Wagner, 1937, p. 498).
LOCATION UNKNOWN.
- ❖ **Islas San Antonio** {834}: *islands*, Latouche and Elrington Is. off the E coast of Kenai Penin.; (map 49).
Named by Juan y Zayas Martinez in 1799. See Wagner (1937, p. 496).
LOCATION UNKNOWN.
- ❖ **Punta de San Alberto** {834}: *point of land*, “the southeast point of Montague Island” opposite of the Wooded Island; (map 49).
Named about July 29, or August 1, 1779, by Don Ignacio Arteaga. LOCATION UNKNOWN.
- ❖ **Punta San Dionisio** {835}: *point of land*, on Rita Island in Bucareli Bay, Alex. Arch.; (map 4).
Spanish name found on the maps of the 1779 Arteaga expedition (Wagner, 1937, p. 498). LOCATION UNKNOWN.
- ❖ **Punta San Eusebio** {836}: *point of land*, “on southwest side of St. Ignace Island in Bucareli Bay,” Alex. Arch.; (map 4).
Spanish name found on the maps of the 1779 Arteaga expedition (Wagner, 1937, p. 499). LOCATION UNKNOWN.
- ❖ **Punta San Faustino** {836}: *point of land*, “on the east side of San Juan Bautista Island in Bucareli Bay,” Alex. Arch.; (map 4).
Named about June 2, 1779, by Francisco Antonio Mourelle, “although the day of the Saint is May 22” (Wagner, 1937, p. 499). LOCATION UNKNOWN.

- ❖ Punta de San Federico {836}: *point of land*, “at the south entrance to Port Gravina,” Alex. Arch.; (map 64).
Named by “Fidalgo June 10, 1790, no doubt after Federico Gravina, whose name was given to the bay [Port Gravina]” (Wagner, 1937, p. 499). LOCATION UNKNOWN.
- ❖ Montana de San Jacinto {837}: *mountains*, on Kruzof Island, Alex. Arch.; (map 9). Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra’s 1775 map shows three mountains with the notation that they terminate at the Cabo de Engaño (Engano Point). One of these must have been Mount Edgecumbe (Wagner, 1937, p. 501). LOCATION UNKNOWN.
- ❖ Punta San Pablo {837}: *point of land*, “on east end of San Juan Bautista Island in Bucareli Bay,” Alex. Arch.; (map 4).
Named about May 30, 1779, by Francisco Antonio Mourelle (Wagner, 1937, p. 506). LOCATION UNKNOWN.
- ❖ Punta San Salvador {838}: *point of land*, “on Santa Rita Island northeast of Baker Island, Bucareli Bay,” Alex. Arch.; (map 4).
Named about May 21, 1779, by Francisco Antonio Mourelle. Perhaps the reference in the name is to the Renovacion del Señor which is celebrated May 19, “as there is no San Salvador, strictly speaking” (Wagner, 1937, p. 507). LOCATION UNKNOWN.
- ❖ Punta de Sanson {838}: *point of land*, “between Ports Estrella and Caldera on Prince of Wales Island in Bucareli Bay,” Alex. Arch.; (map 4).
Spanish name found on maps of the 1779 Arteaga expedition (Wagner, 1937, p. 509). LOCATION UNKNOWN.
- ❖ Playas de Santa Ana {838}: *beach*, on Port Etches on Hinchinbrook I.; (map 64).
Probably named in July 1779 by Don Ignacio Arteaga for the saint whose day is July 26. LOCATION UNKNOWN.
- ❖ Santa Ana {838}: *locality*, on W coast of Cleveland Penin., at head of Santa Anna Inlet, Alex. Arch.; 55°58’40”N, 131°55’40”W; (map 3).
Local name published in 1901 by USC&GS. This is the site of a cannery which was abandoned in the late 1920’s. LOCATION UNKNOWN.

- ❖ **Punta Santa Buenaventura {838}**: *point of land*, “on the east side of San Fernando Island in Bucareli Bay,” Alex. Arch.; (map 4).
Spanish name found on the maps of the 1779 Arteaga expedition (Wagner, 1937, p. 509). LOCATION UNKNOWN.
- ❖ **Rio de Santa Clara {838}**: *stream*, “the western mouth of the Copper River”; (map 64).
Named about July 17, 1779, by Don Ignacio Arteaga (Wagner, 1937, p. 510). LOCATION UNKNOWN.
- ❖ **Punta de Santa Ines {838}**, *point of land*, “in Bucareli Bay, on east side of St. Ignace Island,” Alex. Arch.; (map 4).
Spanish name found on the maps of the 1779 Arteaga expedition (Wagner, 1937, p. 511). LOCATION UNKNOWN.
- ❖ **Isla de Santa Inez {838}**: *island*, “at entrance to Prince William Sound [as] shown on Camacho’s map of 1779 south of Hawkins Island with two others to the northwest of it. In reality there are no such island ***.” See Wagner (1937, p. 511). LOCATION UNKNOWN.
- ❖ **Santa Lucia Island {838}**: island, in San Christoval Channel, off N coast of San Fernando I., SW of Prince of Wales I., Alex. Arch.; 55°34’N, 133°20’W; (map 4).
Var. Isla de Santa Lucia,, Ostrov Santa Luitsa, Yslas de Santa Lucia.
Spanish name given in 1775-79 by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle as “Isla de Santa Lucia,” or “Saint Lucy Island;” not shown on current sources. LOCATION UNKNOWN.
- ❖ **Punta Santa Maria {838}**: *point of land*, “on Santa Rita Island in Bucareli Bay,” Alex. Arch.; (map 4).
Named about May 11, 1779, by Francisco Antonio Mourelle for the Virgin whose day was celebrated May 8 and 9 (Wagner, 1937, p. 512). LOCATION UNKNOWN.

- ❖ **Punta de Santa Maria Magdalena {838}**: *point of land*, “probably Cape Muzon on the south tip of Dall Island,” Alex. Arch.; (map 1).
 This point of land was discovered by Juan Perez July 19 or 20, 1774, and named in honor of the saint. It was known to the Russians as “Kaigani.” The name “Madgalena” is still retained on maps applied to a point on the west side of Dall Island. See Capes Muzon and Magdalena. See also Wagner (1937, p. 512).
LOCATION UNKNOWN.

- ❖ **Punta de San Ramon {838}**: *point of land*, the N tip of Kayak I., 1 mi. NW of Lemesurier Point; 60°01’N, 144°14’W; (map 64).
 Named about July 17, 1779, by Don Ignacio Arteaga. **LOCATION UNKNOWN.**

- ❖ **Shelikov Bay {863}**: *bay*, 4.5 mi. across, on W coast of Kruzof I., Alex. Arch.; 57°08’N, 135°49’W; BGN 1897; (map 9). *Var.* **Ensenada de Guadalupe**, Port Mariy, Port Mary, Port Meri, Puerto de Guadalupe, Shelifok Bay, Shelikova Gulf, Silk Bay, Zaliv Shelikh
 This feature was probably named in the 1850's by the Russian American Company for Grigori Ivanovich Shelikov, founder of the Russian American Company. The name is shown on a Russian American Company map of 1850 as “Prt Meri ili Zal[iv] Shelikhova,” meaning “Port Mary or Shelikov Bay.” The name “Port Mary” was given in 1794 by Capt. George Vancouver, RN; “**Ensenada de Guadalupe**,” i.e. “Guadalupe Entrance,” on August 17, 1775, by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra (Wagner, 1937, p. 460). See Shelikof Strait.

- ❖ **Shelikof Strait {864}**: *water passage*, 20 mi. wide, extends SW 150 mi. from Barren Is. between Alaska Penin. and Kodiak I., 57°30’N, 155°00’W; (map 35). *Var.* Aliaskinskoi, Proliv Alyaskinskoy ili Shelikova, Canal de Flores, Chelekhoff Strait, Helikoff strait, Ismaeloff Strait, Kenai Strait, Prolov Kenayskoy, Petrie’s Strait. Prolov Shelekova, Shelikhoff Strait, Shelikoff Strait, Smokey Bay, Whitsundtide Bay.
 Named “P[roliv] Shelekova,” or “Shelikov’s Strait,” by Ens. Vasiliev in 1831 or 1832 (Lutke, 1836, p. 274) for Grigori Ivanovich Shelikov, a Siberian shipbuilder and merchant. The strait was called “**Canal de Flores**,” or “strait of flowers,” by D.A. Galiano (1802, map 3).²⁶⁹

²⁶⁹ No Spanish expedition sailed through Shelikof Strait.

- ❖ Shishaldan Volcano {867}: *volcano*, 9, 372 ft., on Unimak I., Aleutian Is.; 54°45'20"N, 163°58'15"W; (map 25). *Var.* Agajedan, Chichaldinskoi, Shushaldinskaia, Sisaguk, Sopka Shishaldinskaya, **Volcan de Fernandez**.
Transliteration by USBF in 1888 of "So[pka] Shishaldinskaya," published by Capt. Tebenkov (1852, map 24), IRN. Active volcano seen and reported in 1790 by Capt. G.A. Sarichev "who gives, according to Grewingk, Agajedan as its native name" (Baker, 1906, p. 571). Wagner (1937, p. 453) wrote that it was named **Volcan de Fernandez**, by Martinez for, as he said, his second surname.

- ❖ Sitkalidak Island {880}: *island*, 23 mi. long, SE of Kodiak I.; 57°07'N, 153°14'W; (map 34). *Var.* **Isla de Soto**, Kukan Island, Kunakan Island, Ostrov Salthidak, Ostrov Syakhlikok, Ostrov Syatkhlidak, Sachlidok Island, Sadlidok Island, Saklidok Island, Saklidov Island, Sakthidak Island, Satklidak Island, Scachlitak Island, Shagitak Island, Siaklidok Island, Siaktklidak Island, Zatchlitschak Island.
Transliteration by USC&GS from various Russian forms of what Baker (1906, p. 579) calls "a corruption of some native word or phrase ***." Also named "**Isla de Soto**," or "forest island," by Galiano (1802, map 3). "**Isla de Dos Cavesas**"

- ❖ Sitka Sound {881}: *water passage*, 15 mi. across, between Baranof and Kruzof Is., Alex. Arch.; 57°00'N, 135°30'W; (map 9). *Var.* **Ensenada del Susto**, Norfolk Sound, Shitka Bay, Sitka Bay, Tchinkitanay Bay.
Named "**Ensenada del Susto**" meaning "bay of terrors" by Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Mourelle who first visited the sound in 1775. The Russians, who began a settlement on the sound in 1799 gave it the name "Sitka Bay," derived from the Tlingit Indian name, "Shitka" or "Sitka," the meaning of which is unknown.

- ❖ Cape Suckling {924}: *point of land*, on Gulf of Alaska, 6 mi. SE of Controller Bay and 75 mi. SE of Cordova, Malaspina Coastal Plain; 59°59'30"N, 143°53'00"W; (map 47). *Var.* Cabo Chupador, **Cabo de San Elias**, Punta de la Isla.
Named by Capt. Cook (1785, v.2, p. 349), RN, May 10, 1778, for Maurice Suckling, Comptroller of the Royal Navy when Cook left England. Malaspina's manuscript chart of 1791 shows Cabo Chupador meaning "sucking" or "suckling." The name **Cabo de San Elias** appears on Camacho's chart showing results of the Don Ignacio Arteaga expedition in 1779 with Francisco Antonio Mourelle as pilot (Wagner, 1937, p. 498).

- ❖ Unimak Island {1010}: *island*, 67 mi. long and 22 mi. wide, in Fox Is., Aleutian Is.; 54°45'N, 165°00'W; BGN 1890; (map 24). *Var.* **Don Jose de Flores**, **Ile de Oonimak**, **Isla San Gonzalo**, **Oonemak Island**, **Oonimak Island**.
Aleut name recorded by Capt. Cook (1785, v.2, p. 426), RN, July 2, 1778; it is called by the people of these parts "Oonemak, ***." Esteban Jose Martinez called the island "**Don Jose de Flores**" in 1788; and Lopez de Haro called it "**Isla San Gonzalo**" on July 16, 1788, probably derived from his Christian name (Wagner, 1937, p. 500).
- ❖ Whitshed Point {1046}: *point of land*, at SW end of Heney Ra., 8 mi. SW of Cordova, Chugach Mts.; 60°27'N, 145°53'W; (map 64). *Var.* Cape Whitshed, Point Whihshet, Point Whitshet, Point Witshed, **Punta de Orevilla**, **Punta de Treville**.
Named by Capt. George Vancouver, RN, for Capt. Whitshed, RN, after the point of land was examined by James Johnstone on June 25, 1794 (Wagner, 1937, p. 421). It was called "**Punta de Treville**" by Don Ignacio Arteaga in 1779 for Louis Rene Madeleine le Vasson de Latouche Treville, French admiral who died in 1804 (Wagner, 1937, p. 520).

Corresponding Locations that do not appear in the Dictionary of Alaska Place Names

- ❖ Lituya Bay- "Entrada de Aragon" by Malaspina.
- ❖ Douglas Mountains- "Montanas de San Pedro y San Pablo" by Arteaga.
- ❖ Montague Strait- "Entrada de Principe Carlos."
- ❖ Green Islands- "Islas Vertes."
- ❖ Shumagin Islands- "Islas de los Pilotos" by Martinez.
- ❖ Columbia Bay- "Revillagigedo Bay" by Fidalgo.
- ❖ Kachemak Bay- "Quadra" by Fidalgo.
- ❖ Port in Kaigani Strait- "Puerto de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores" by Caamaño.
- ❖ Port at entrance of Clarence Strait- "Puerto de Nuestra Señora del Carmen."

Appendix IV: Document of Possession Taken in *Cordova Bay* by Salvador Fidalgo in 1790²⁷⁰

In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three Persons and one single true God, Who is the beginning, maker and creator of all things; without whom nothing good can be done, commenced or accomplished; and because the good beginning of any act must be in God and for God, and in Him must be begun for His glory and honor; in His Most Holy Name let it be known to all those to whom the present Witness, Instrument, and Letters of Possession may come, that today when three days are counted of the month of June of one thousand seven hundred and ninety years; this Paquebot having arrived named the *San Carlos* of the Very Powerful, Very Enlightened and Catholic Lord Don Carlos IV, King of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, of the Two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, of Navarre, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of Mallorca, of Seville, of Cerdena, of Cordova, of Corsega [Corsica], of Murcia, of Jaen, of the Algarbes, of Algeciras; of Gibraltar, of the Canary Islands, of the Indies East and West, Islands and mainlands of the Ocean Sea, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, of Brabant of Milan, Count of Aspurg, Flanders, Finol and Barcelona, Lord of Vizcaya and of Molina-which by order of the Most Excellent Lord Don Juan Vicente de Guemes Pacheco de la Orcasitas y Aguayo, Count of Revilla Gigedo, Baron and Territorial Lord of the Cities and Baronies of Beniloba and Rebaroja, Knight Commander of the Pena de Mantos in the Order of Calatrava, Gentleman of the Chamber of His Majesty with the rank of Lieutenant General of his Royal Armies, Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of New Spain, President of its Royal Audiencia, Superintendent General of the Exchequer and of the Division of Tobacco, Jude defender of the latter, of Mines and Quicksilver, President of the Royal Council and Subdelegate General of Mails in the same Kingdom;

²⁷⁰ Fidalgo, *Diario*, pp. 71-74. Note how the title "King of Spain" is never seen in the document

which departed from the Port of San Blas, one of those of the South Sea within the same Viceroyalty, on the third day of February of the present year; for discoveries following the coast from Monterey to the North, and charged with this Mission the Commander of this Ship and Lieutenant of the Royal Navy Don Salvador Fidalgo; and being anchored in this Bay now newly named *Bay of Cordova*, and having disembarked on Land the said Commander with the greater part of the Troops, seamen of the Ship, and the Chaplain Don Jose Alexandro Lopez de Nava, they set up on the Shore a Cross which they worshipped on their Knees, and with all the people devoutly singing with the Father the *Te Deum Laudamus*, they declared in a loud voice that in the name of His Majesty the King Don Carlos IV our Sovereign, whom God our Lord preserve many years with increase of greater States and Kingdoms for the service of God and prosperity of his Vassals and of the Very Powerful Lords his Heirs and Successors who have been through the ages, as commander of this Ship, and by virtue of the Order and Instruction given in his Royal Name by the said Most Excellent Viceroy of New Spain, he was taking and took, was seizing and seized, Possession of this Land where he was at present disembarked, which he discovered, forever and ever in the said Royal Name, and of the said Royal Crown of Castile and Leon, as has been said, as his own property which it is, and which effectually belongs to him by reason of the Donation and Bull which the Very Holy Father Alexander VI Supreme Pontiff of Rome, issued of his own will, in granting to the Very High and Catholic Rulers Don Fernando and Dona Isabel his wife, Kings of Castile and of Leon of glorious Memory, and to their heirs and successors, half of the world, given at Rome on the fourth of May of one thousand four hundred and ninety-three, in virtue of which these are possessions of the said Royal Crown of Castile and Leon, as such he takes and took the said Possession of these said lands and their contiguous Seas, Rivers, Sounds, Harbors, Bays, Gulfs, Archipelagos, and this said Bay of Cordova, where this Ship is at present anchored; and he subjected and subrogated them under the Power, Possession and

Cession of the said Royal Crown of Castile and Leon, as has been said, as his own possession, which it is; and in sign of Possession, setting hand to his Sword which he had at his belt, with it he cut Trees, Branches, and Grasses, moved Stones, and paraded along the Fields and the Beach without any opposition, asking those present that they should be witnesses of this act, and that I Don Antonio Serantes, who am the Scrivener named by the Commander, should give Testimony of it in public form; and when on the mainland, taking a large Cross on their shoulders, with the people of the Ship ranged in Battle Order with muskets and other Weapons, they carried the Cross in procession, the Father Chaplain Don Jose Alexandro Lopez de Nava singing a Litany with all responding; and when the said Procession was finished; the said Commander set up the Cross and made a Heap of Stones at the foot of the same for a memorial and sign of the Possession of all these Lands, Seas, and their boundaries both continuous and contiguous, and he gave this Bay the Name of *Cordova* as has been said; and after the Cross was planted, they worshipped it a second time, and all made Adoration, praying and supplicating that Our Lord Jesus Christ might be served, that this might be for His Holy Service and for our Holy Catholic Faith, that it might be exalted and increased, and the word of the Holy Gospel be spread abroad among the savage Nations which up to this time have been turned aside from the true knowledge and Doctrine, so that it may save them and free them from the snares of the Devil and from the blindness in which they now are, that their souls may be saved; and afterward the Chaplain sang the Hymn *Vexilla Regis*; and later, on an Altar which had been made, the Chaplain celebrated Mass, the first which had ever been said on this Land, to the Glory and Honor of our Lord God Almighty, for the extirpation of the Devil, and the same Chaplain preached; and this ceremony being concluded, the Commander, for a perpetual sign of this Possession, had the bark stripped from a Tree on which he formed a Cross, placing on it the most holy name of our Lord Jesus Christ with these four initials

I N R I, and at the foot of the Cross he put *Carolus IV Rex Hispaniarum*; and that this might be recorded, the Lieutenant of the Royal Navy Don Salvador Fidalgo signed, and as witnesses the Father Chaplain Don Jose Alexandro Lopez de Nava, the first Pilot Don Salvador Menendez, and the second, Don Estevan Mondofia.

[Signatures]

Salvador Fidalgo

Joseph Alexandro Lopez de Nava

Salvador Menendez

Estevan Mondofia

**And I, the Scrivener appointed by the said Commander,
Bear faith and true witness that so it was.**

Antonio Serantes

Appendix V: Nationality of Vessels Visiting the Northwest Coast, 1774-1819²⁷¹

	SPAIN	U.K.	U.S.	FRANCE	PORTUGAL	RUSSIA	AUSTRIA	SWEDEN	UNIDENTIFIED	TOTAL
1774	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	01
1775	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	02
1776	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1777	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1778	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	02
1779	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	02
1780	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1781	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1782	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1783	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1784	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1785	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	01
1786	-	8	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	10
1787	-	5	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	06
1788	2	2	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	10
1789	4	2	4	-	2	-	-	1	-	13
1790	6	2	3	1	-	-	-	1	-	12
1791	7	5	5	1	-	-	-	1	-	19
1792	8	13	5	1	4	-	-	1	-	32
1793	4	9	8	2	1	-	-	-	-	24
1794	3	9	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
1795	2	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	08
1796	1	6	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
1797	1?	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	07
1798	-	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	07
1799	-	3	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	09
1800	-	1	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	09
1801	-	3	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	23
1802	-	2	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	19
1803	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
1804	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	06
1805	-	-	8	-	-	2	-	-	-	10
1806	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
1807	-	1	11	-	-	1	-	-	1	14
1808	-	1	7	-	-	2	-	-	-	10
1809	-	1	8	-	-	1	-	-	-	10
1810	-	-	10	-	-	2	-	-	-	12
1811	-	-	15	-	-	1	-	-	-	16
1812	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
1813	-	1	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
1814	-	3	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	07
1815	-	2	6	-	-	2	-	-	1	11
1816	-	2	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
1817	-	1	15	1	-	-	-	-	-	17
1818	-	1	12	1	-	1	-	-	-	15
1819	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	08
Total	43	93	266	8	10	13	1	4	3	441

²⁷¹ Cook, *Flood Tide*, Appendix E; F.W. Howay, "A List of Trading Vessels in Maritime Fur Trade," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3d ser., 24 (1930): 111-134; 25 (1931): 117-49; 26 (1932): 43-86; 27 (1933): 119-47; 28 (1934) 11-49. Note: All foregoing voyages ascended to at least 42°N, Russia excluded; Russian voyages descended to at least 54°N.

Appendix VI: Color Maps

Map 1 Juan Perez Sighting Alaska

Map 2 The *Sonora* and Kruzof Island

Map 3 The Route of the *Sonora* in Southeast Alaska

Map 4 The Voyage of James Cook

Map 5 The Charting of Bucareli Bay

Map 6 The Route of the *Favorita* and *Princesa*

Map 7 Overall Russian Penetration in Alaska

Map 8 Spanish Activity in Prince William Sound

Map 9 Spanish Activity off of the Kenai Peninsula

Map 10 Martinez off the Alaska Peninsula

Map 11 Malaspina in Yakutat Bay

Map 12 The Remainder of Malaspina's Voyage

Map 13 Caamaño and Vancouver in Southeast Alaska

Map 14 Vancouver in Prince William Sound

Map 15 The Voyage of George Vancouver

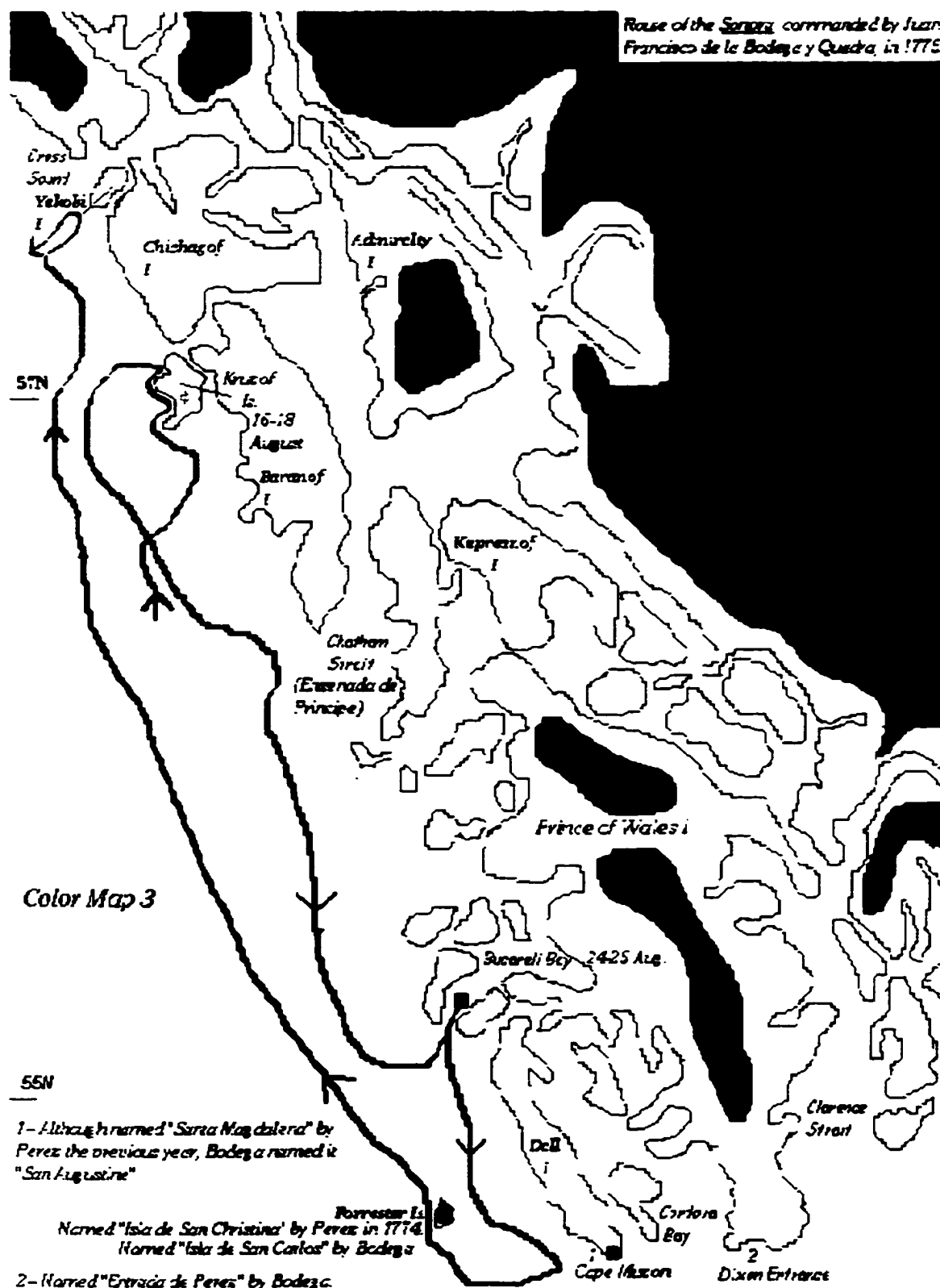
Map 16 The Spanish Legacy to Alaska

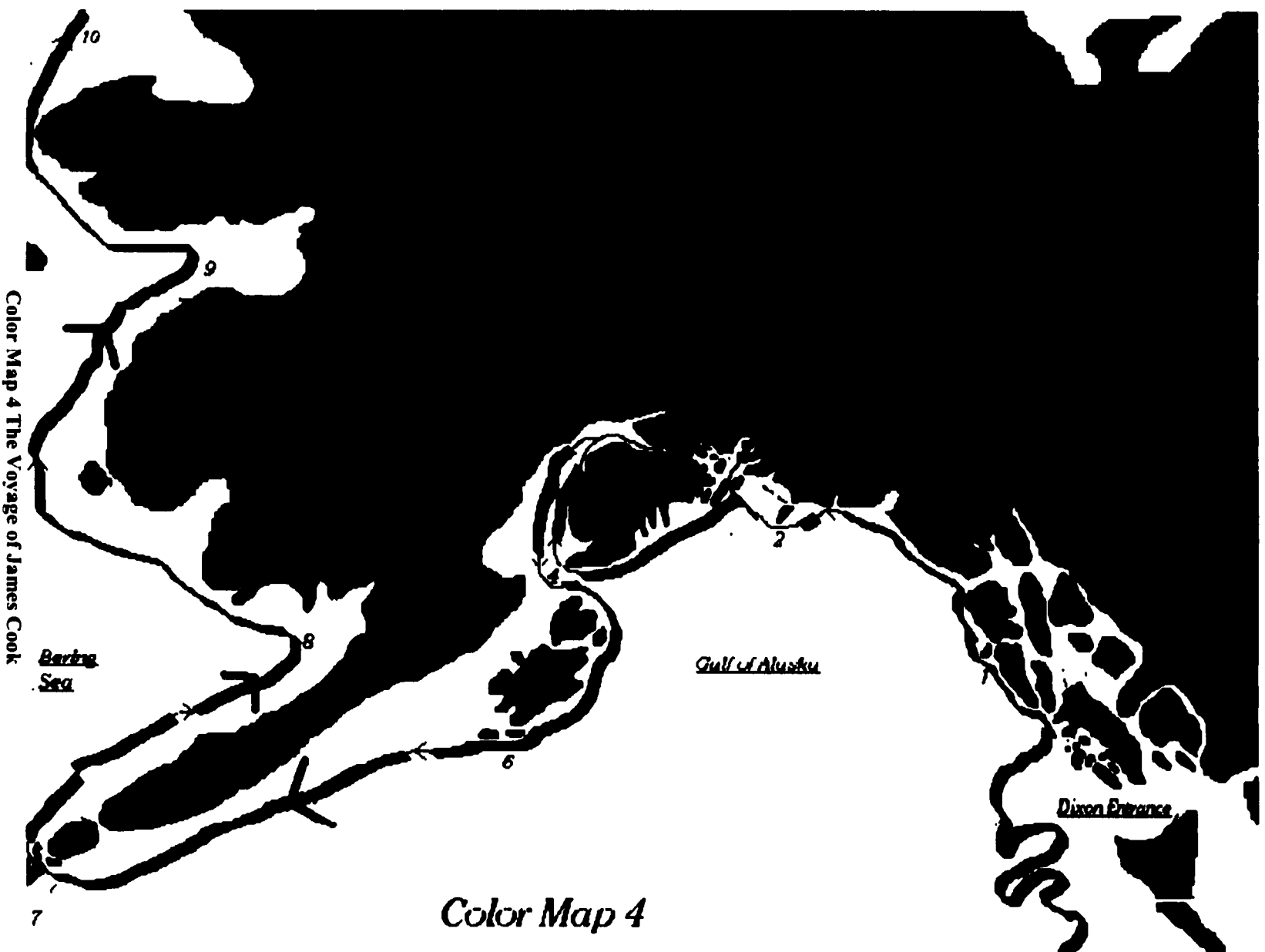


Color Map 1 Perez Sighting Alaska

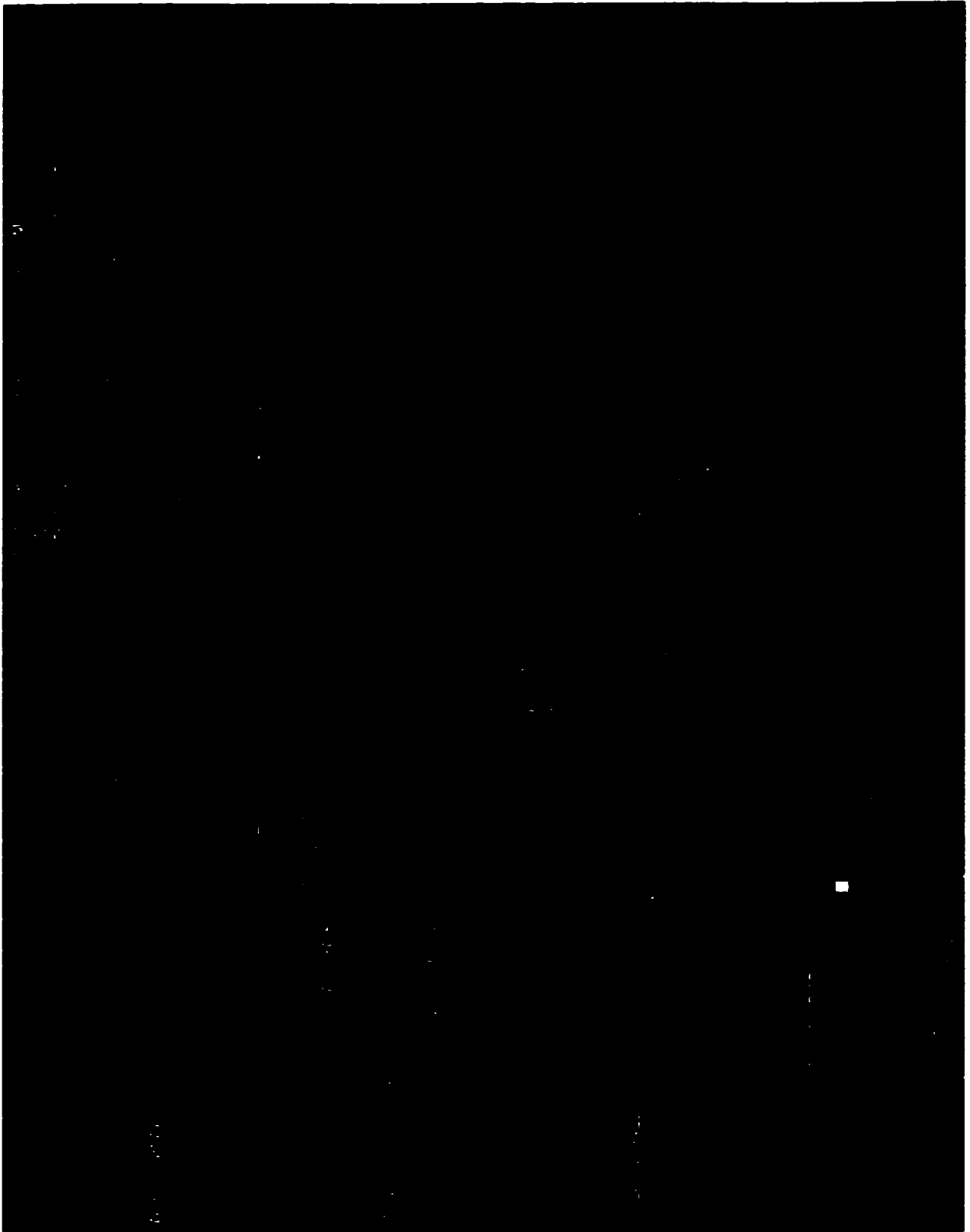


Color Map 2 The *Sonora* and Kruzof Island

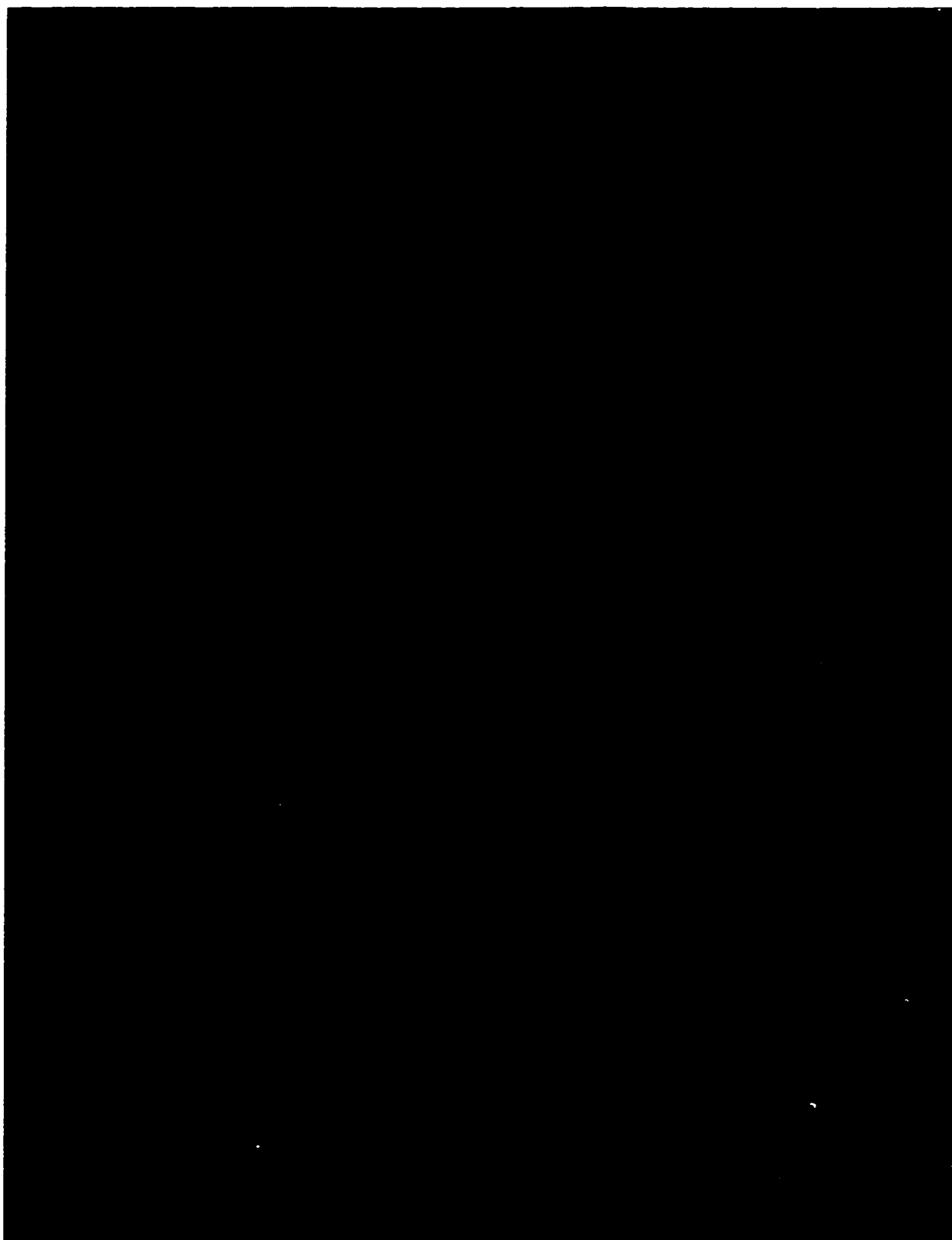




Color Map 4 The Voyage of James Cook



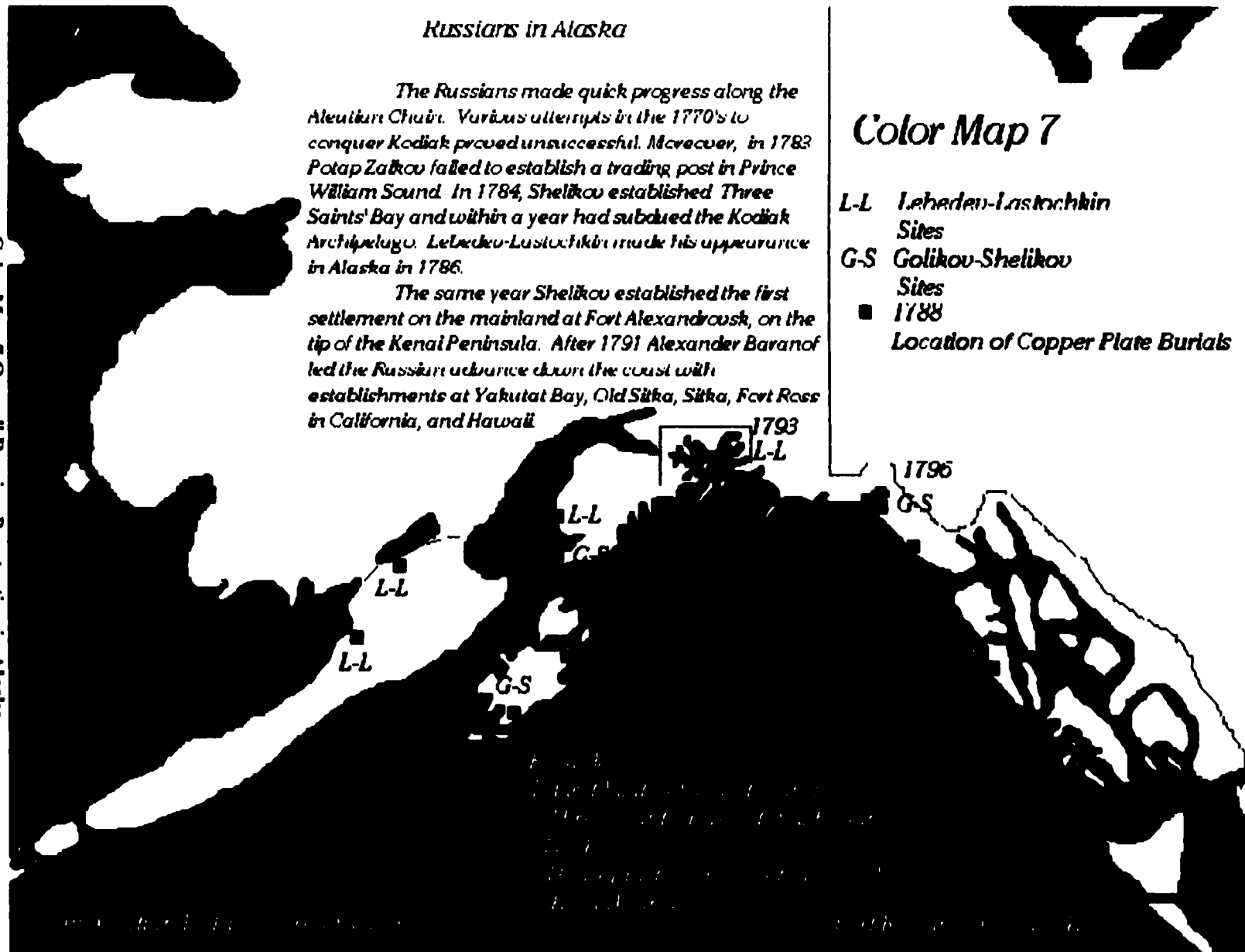
Color Map 5 The Charting of Bucareli Bay

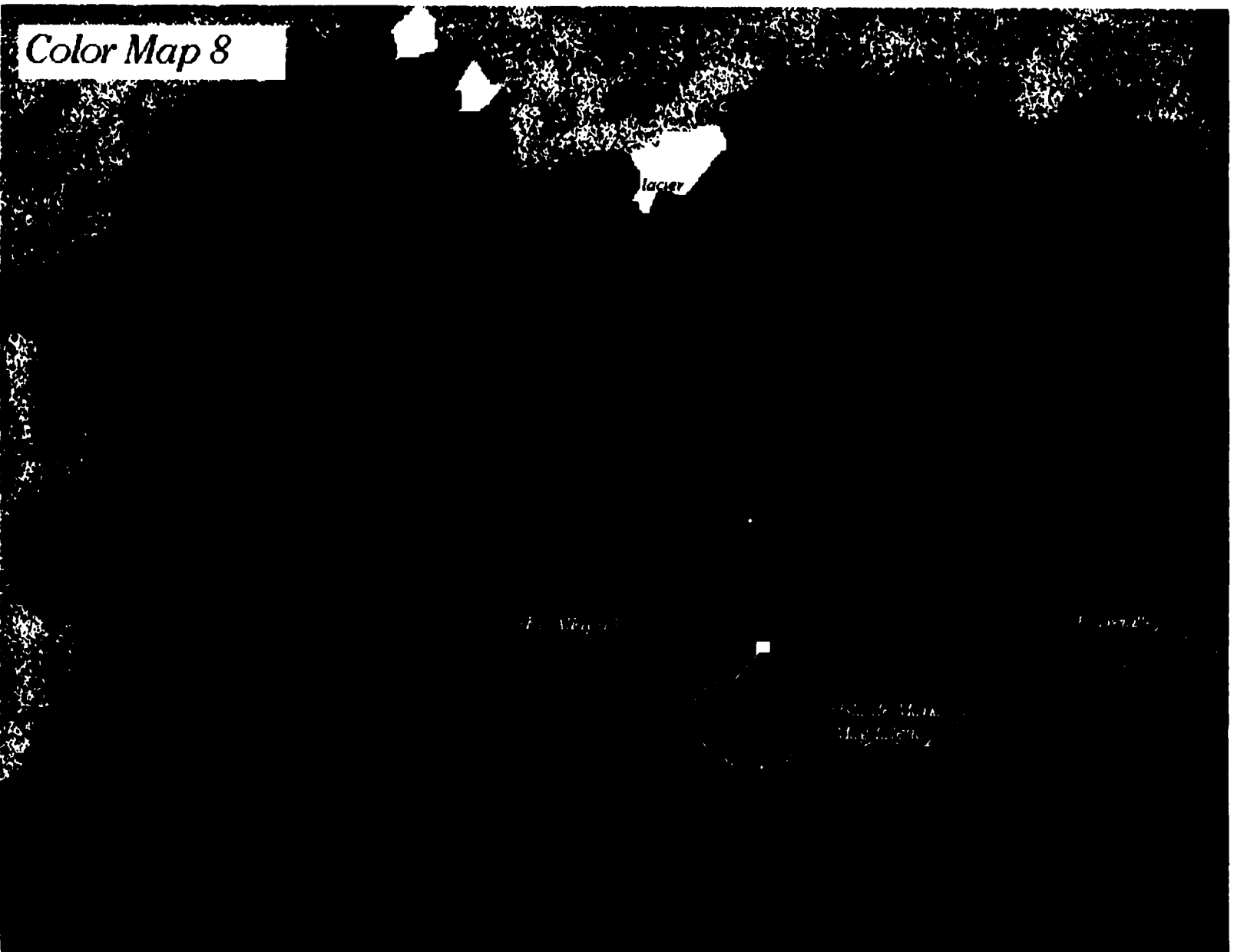


Color Map 6 The Route of the *Favorita* and *Princesa*

The same year Shelikof established the first settlement on the mainland at Fort Alexandrask, on the tip of the Kenai Peninsula. After 1791 Alexander Baranof led the Russian advance down the coast with establishments at Yakutat Bay, Old Sitka, Sitka, Fort Ross in California, and Hawaii.

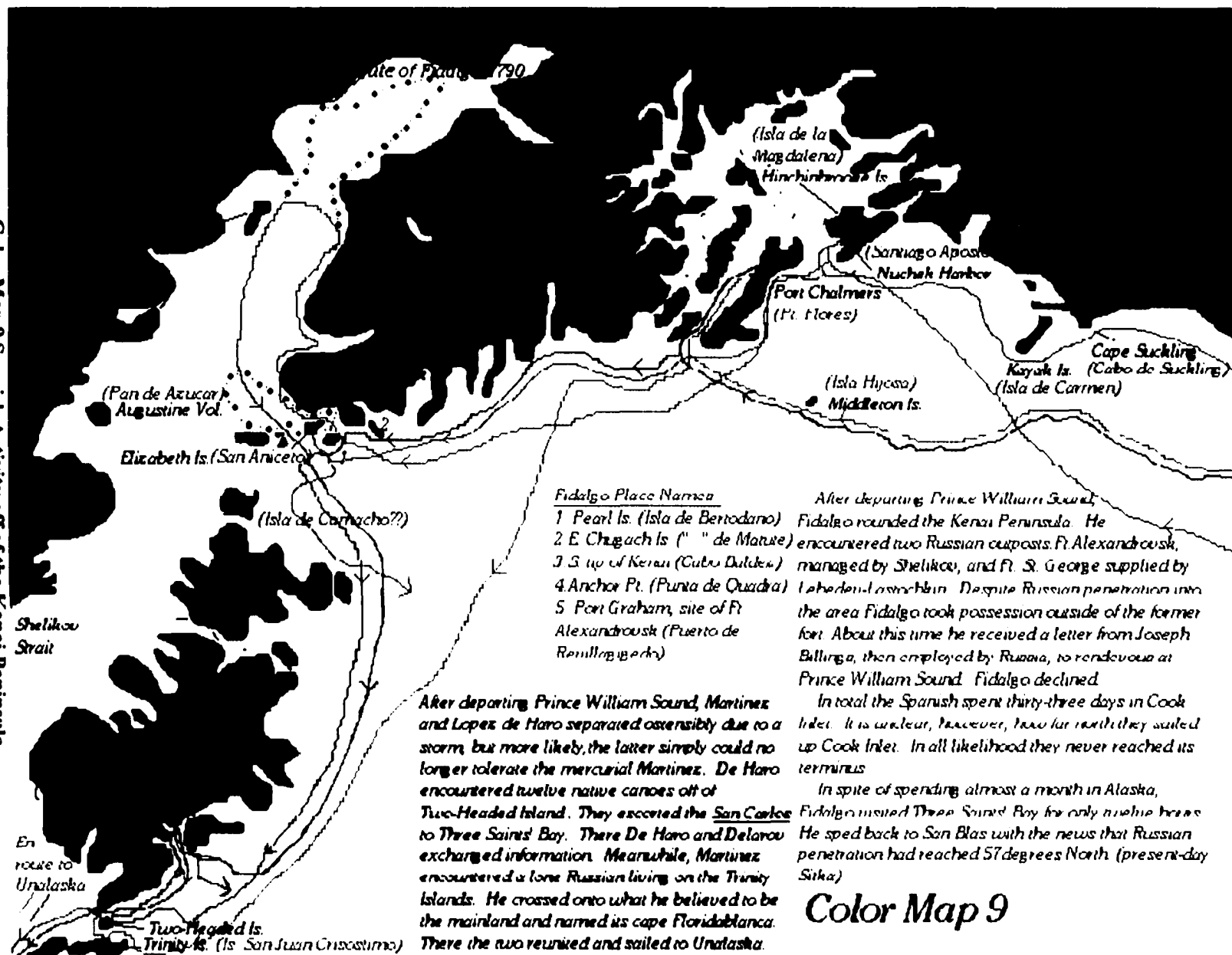
Location of Copper Plate Burials



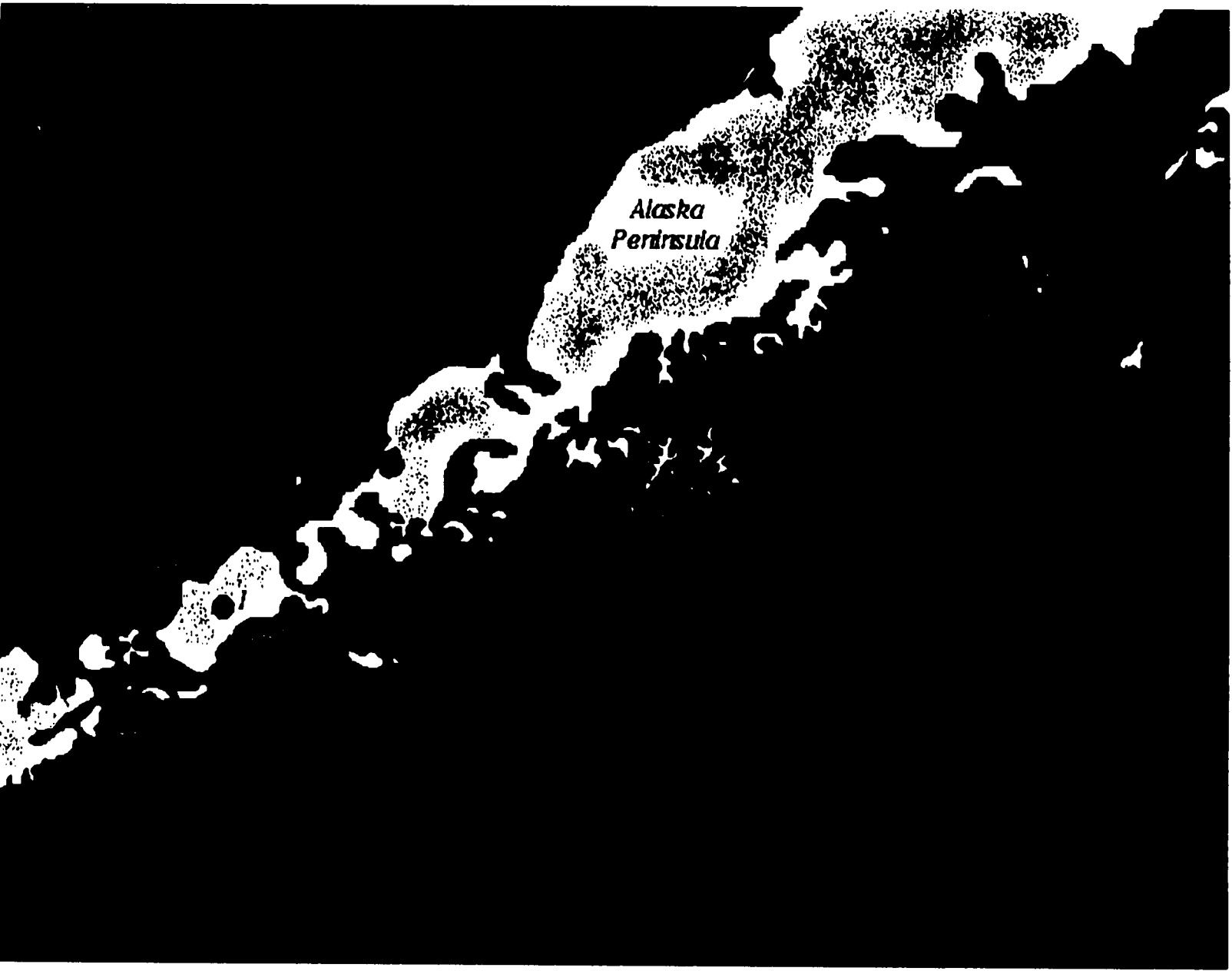


Color Map 8 Spanish Activity in Prince William Sound

Color Map 9 Spanish Activity off of the Kenai Peninsula



Color Map 9



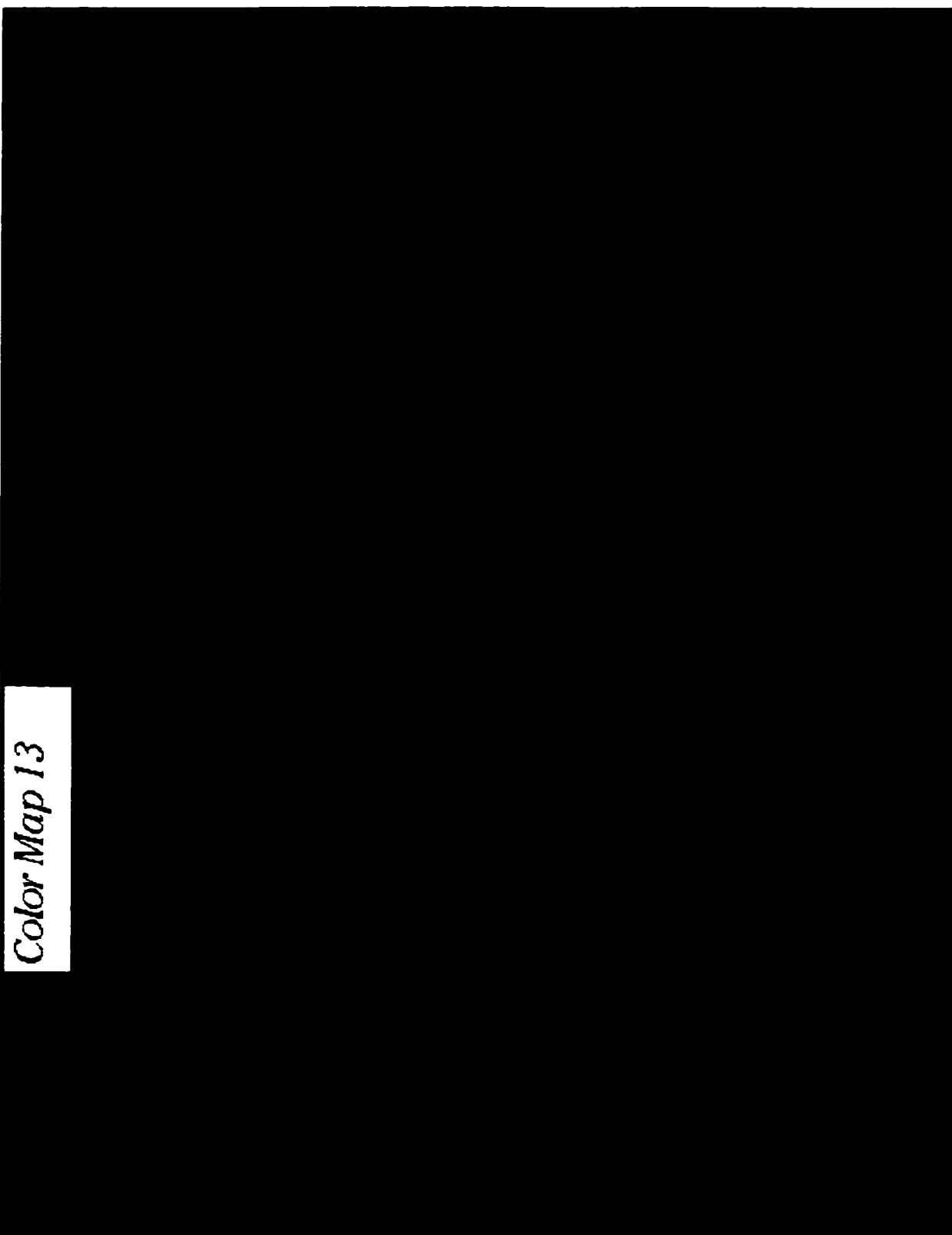
Color Map 10 Martinez off the Alaska Peninsula



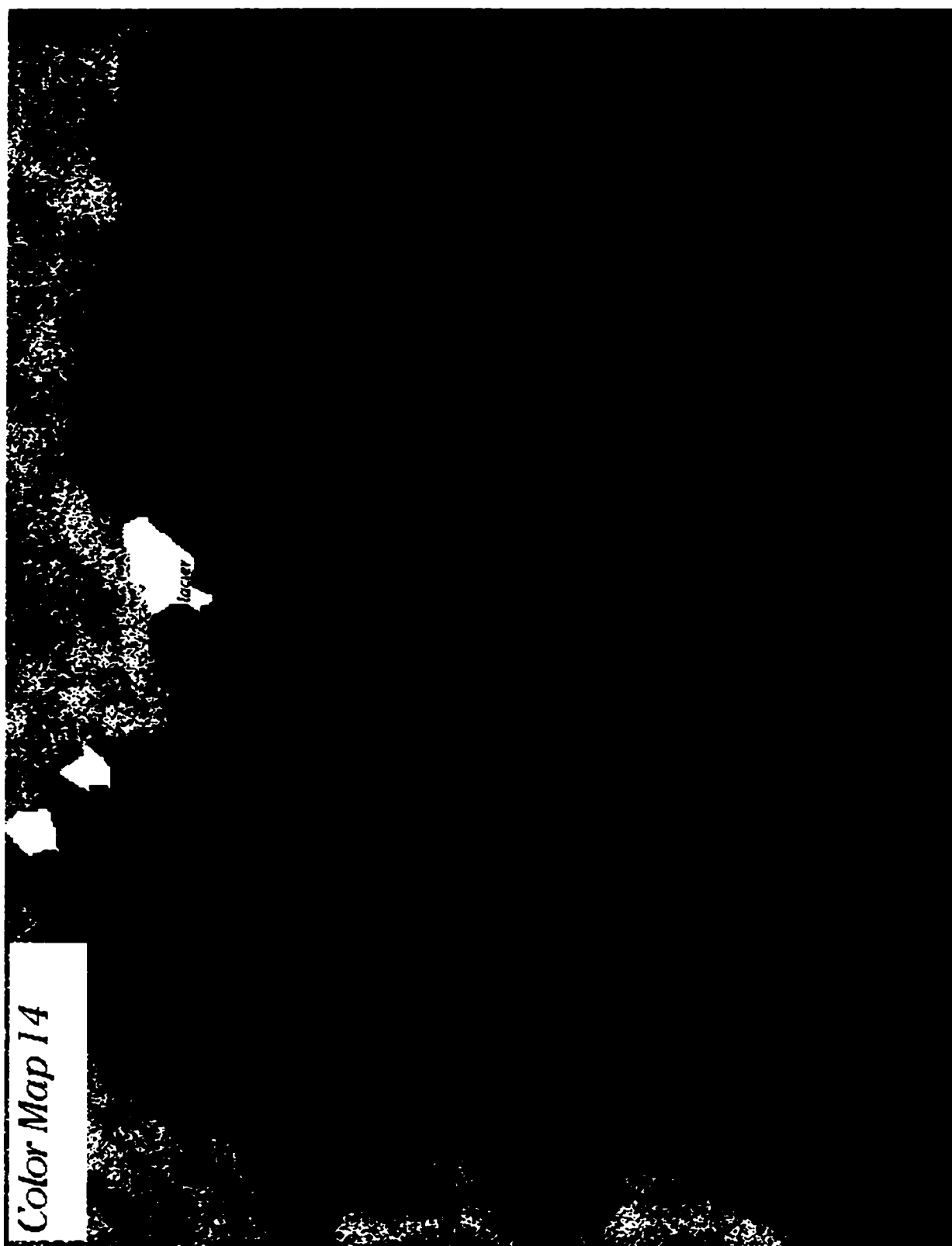
Color Map 11 Malaspina in Yakutat Bay

Malaspina's disappointment continued after his search for Maldonado Strait. After replacing place names of many of his colleagues, he attempted to enter Prince William Sound in July. A minor accident and strong winds thwarted him and thus prompted his return south. He named Perouse's Lituya Bay, Lituya de Dragón, in terms of topography and cartography, the far north Pacific segment of Maldonado's expedition was largely a failure.

Color Map 12 The Remainder of Malaspina's Voyage



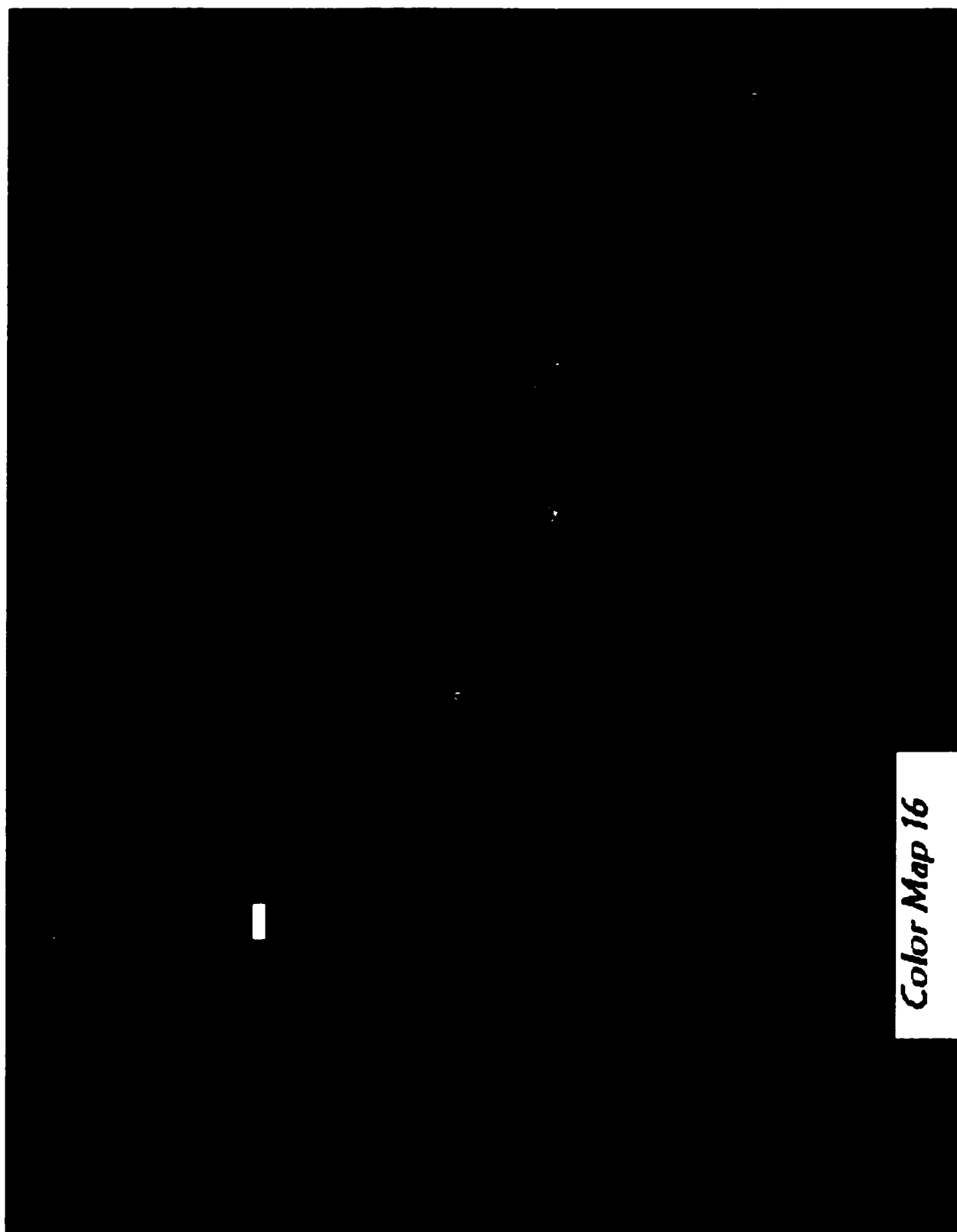
Color Map 13 Caamano and Vancouver in Southeast Alaska



Color Map 14 Vancouver in Prince William Sound

- George Vancouver*
1792. *Charted Puget Sound and the Strait of Georgia. Juan de Fuca Strait Resolved.*
1793. *Charted Southeast Alaska - Forde Strait Resolved.*
1794. *Cook Inlet, Prince William Sound, Yakutat Bay, and the Northern Part of Southeast Alaska.*
- Maldonado Strait Resolved.*

Color Map 15 The Voyages of George Vancouver

*Color Map 16***Color Map 16 The Spanish Legacy to Alaska**

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